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THE
JAPANESE CANADIANS

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE CANADIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR
MENTAL HYGIENE
THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE JAPANESE CANADIANS

By
CHARLES H. YOUNG
HELEN R. Y. REID

With a second part on Oriental Standards of Living

By
W. A. CARROTHERS

EDITED BY
H. A. INNIS

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE first part of this volume is the result of work carried out under the auspices of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in Canada by Mr. C. H. Young, with the collaboration of Dr. Helen R. Y. Reid, on the problems of the Japanese Canadians. It continues the work of the Committee under the direction of Miss Reid begun in *The Ukrainian Canadians* by Mr. Young (Toronto, 1931), of which the objectives were carefully stated by Miss Reid in the foreword of that volume (pp. ix-xi). Mr. Young carried out extensive work in British Columbia as a basis for the present study.

The second part of the volume by Professor W. A. Carrothers on "Oriental Standards of Living" is part of an extended project carried out by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in co-operation with the Institute of Pacific Relations and constitutes a report in the international research programme of the I.P.R.¹ Studies have been made on standards of living in the

¹In addition to the Canadian studies, the Institute of Pacific Relations through its International Research Committee has sponsored similar inquiries into standards and costs of living in other Pacific countries. This international series of studies was initiated by the I.P.R. at its fifth conference held in Banff, Canada, in 1933. It includes reports dealing with tramway workers and clerical workers in the San Francisco Bay region, recently published as Emily Huntington and Mary G. Luck, *Living on a Moderate Income* (University of California Press); agricultural and selected industrial workers in New Zealand; Filipino plantation workers in Hawaii; agricultural workers in certain regions; emigration in the Philippines; Chinese in the emigration regions round the cities of Canton, Swatow, and Amoy. A series of essays dealing with the problem of Australian standards of living will shortly be published in Melbourne under the auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, to be followed by a study of White settlement in tropical Australia, which will also deal in part with the question of living standards. On the general problem of standards of living in rural China, a considerable statistical inquiry was carried out

chief regions of Canada and include publications by Mr. S. A. Saunders on the Maritimes,² Messrs. F. R. Scott and H. M. Cassidy on *Labour Conditions in the Men's Clothing Industry* (Toronto, 1935), and Mr. G. E. Britnell on *The Wheat Economy* (to be published shortly). Though the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs have sponsored these studies, and recommended them to the various national councils of the I.P.R., neither the I.P.R. nor the C.I.I.A. assume responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by the authors, both institutes being precluded from expressing an opinion in any aspect of domestic or international affairs.

In all the publications of the C.I.I.A. it is necessary to state that "The Canadian Institute of International Affairs is an unofficial and non-political body founded in 1928 to promote 'an understanding of international questions and problems, particularly in so far as

by the University of Nanking, the results being published in J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press). In addition, the Japanese Council of the I.P.R. has recently completed a short study of living standards of selected lower-paid groups of municipal employees and other white-collar workers, while the Industrial Department of the Shanghai Municipal Council is now preparing a report on costs and conditions of living of selected municipal employees in the International Settlement of Shanghai. In its more sociological aspects, the present Canadian study is closely related to earlier inquiries made by the American Council of the I.P.R. into the problems of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino residents on the Pacific coast of the United States. The results of these inquiries have appeared in Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Migration to the United States*; E. G. Mears, *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*; R. D. McKenzie, *Oriental Immigration* (all published by the University of Chicago Press).

²See S. A. Saunders, "A Note on the Dairy Industry in the Maritime Provinces" (*The Dairy Industry in Canada* ed. H. A. Innis, Toronto, 1937, pp. 283-4); "Forest Industries in the Maritime Provinces" (*The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest*, Toronto, 1938, pp. 345-71); *Studies in the Economy of the Maritime Provinces* to be published shortly.

these may relate to Canada and the British Empire, and . . . an understanding of questions and problems which affect the relations of the United Kingdom with any other of His Majesty's Dominions or of these Dominions with one another.' The Institute as such, is precluded by its constitution from expressing an opinion on any aspect of British Commonwealth relations or of domestic or international affairs; opinions expressed in this book are, therefore, purely individual."

The work of Mr. Young and Professor Carrothers was carried out at about the same period of time and was necessarily based in part on the same sources. The difficulties of securing accurate and adequate material necessitate a warning against reliance on a narrow range of sources of information, and it was felt by Dr. Reid and myself that strength would be gained by joining forces in the publication of a single volume and presenting the available evidence as a whole. It has been the task of the editor to reduce duplication and to attempt a co-ordination of the results. I am grateful for the assistance of Mr. Young and particularly of Miss Reid on whom has fallen the task of seeing Part I through the press, and of Professor Carrothers who has been generous enough to give me a completely free hand in the publication of his material. Professor Norman MacKenzie as Chairman and Mr. Escott Reid as Secretary of the Research Committee of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and Mr. W. L. Holland, Research Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, have been generous and patient in their support of a project which has faced numerous obstacles.

Restrictions on emigration in the nineteenth century were much less rigid in China than they were in Japan. The decline of slavery in the first part of the century and the opening of the Pacific which

accompanied the discovery of placer mines in California, Australia, New Zealand, and British Columbia were followed by the migration of Chinese on an important scale in the fifties. The boom which precipitated a rush of White and Chinese emigrants to the Pacific was followed by a rapid decline of gold production and depression and the introduction of restrictive measures on Chinese immigrants.³ These measures in one area compelled the adoption of similar measures in other areas, and the construction of a defensive ring. The early arrival of the Chinese in relatively undeveloped areas of the Pacific, the importance of private capital in migration, and the relative ineffectiveness of Chinese state intervention facilitated the adoption of exclusive measures on the part of states to which they migrated. The predominant migration of males, involving a high degree of mobility, and the supply of credit through private companies capable of handling large numbers of men, facilitated the meeting of large-scale demands such as those of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the construction period. Labour drifted, with the end of the construction period, to the unskilled occupations and became increasingly competitive with White labour. These migrations became the object of protest and legislation. A head tax was imposed and increased, and finally in 1923 the Chinese were excluded. These developments have been described in detail in chapter ii of Part II.

The Japanese, more effectively controlled by their government, arrived at a much later date. Handicapped by lack of skill and late arrival, they came into competition with Chinese labour and by accepting lower wages compelled the latter to move into the

³See P. C. Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (London, 1923), chap. ii; also Cheng Tien-Fang, *Oriental Immigration to Canada* (Shanghai, 1931), chaps. ii, iii.

more skilled urban occupations to which by virtue of longer acquaintance with the country they were able to adapt themselves. This increased competition with the White population, and restrictive legislation followed. Increase in the amount of the head tax to \$500 in 1904 broke up the control of companies over Chinese⁴ labour and this type of organization was adapted to supply Japanese labour for large-scale demands especially after they were excluded from the United States in 1907. The influx of Japanese labour with the attractions of a monopoly for Oriental labour because of the heavy head tax on Chinese immigrants, combined with the short depression to produce the outbreaks of 1907. Limitations on the national status of Canada and subordination of Canada to imperial policy, and the interest of the Japanese government in Japanese emigrants together with its enhanced prestige after the Russo-Japanese war, weakened the position of Canada in regard to restrictions on Japanese immigration. The Gentlemen's Agreement and its modifications were a striking contrast to the policy of restriction adopted toward the Chinese. Canada's limited control and the outbreak of ill-will toward the Orientals after the war strengthened Canada's position in pressing for the break-up of the Anglo-Japanese⁵ alliance. After the exclusion of the Chinese in 1923 and the Imperial Conference of 1926, Canada adopted a more definite national policy and asserted control over Japanese immigrants in 1928. It is appropriate, therefore, that a careful study of the Canadian Japanese should be made at this time.

⁴See W. L. Mackenzie King, *Industry and Humanity* (Toronto, 1918), pp. 73 ff.

⁵J. B. Brebner, "Canada, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Washington Conference" (*Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1935, pp. 45-48); also Cheng Tien-Fang, *Oriental Immigration to Canada*, p. 134.

The acuteness of the problem has been described by Mr. Young and Miss Reid and they have suggested possible devices for alleviation of its severity which recognize the political implications. They have brought out sharply the significance of the clash of Japanese culture with Western culture not only in political but also in other institutions, especially in the family. They have traced it in the rich associational activity of the Japanese and in their attitude to such institutions as the United Church because of its possible protection as a national organization. Protection by the Japanese government facilitated the migration of women on an important scale, and from this has arisen the problem of the Japanese Canadians. The family as a basic cultural factor of Japanese civilization has taken root in Canada although the impact of Western civilization has been responsible for a relative decline in its importance. With the Chinese, the place of the family strengthens the possibility of return of the male population to China and leads to a low standard of living because of the necessity of sending funds to families in the homeland. With the Japanese, however, it accentuates the demand for political support from Japan to strengthen their position in Canada. The Japanese have been able to wage a persistent fight against restrictions. The bitterness of the fight leads to protests by Whites against Japanese interference and to the vicious spiral of further Japanese interference. The authors of this book have attempted to find a way out of the impasse.

Absence of capital and lack of skill have compelled Orientals to resort to unskilled occupations particularly concerned with the basic industries. They have concentrated on industries or stages of industries in which intensive labour has distinct advantages (see chapter i, Part II). During periods of depression,

labour in these industries becomes competitive with White labour especially after a period of boom such as the war when Oriental labour has advanced into the more skilled occupations. The results are evident in agitation on the part of White labour and in legislation restricting Oriental labour in industries where competition is acute and particularly susceptible to fluctuations, such as the lumber industry, and in other industries to which those excluded from one industry turn. An internal line of defence is built up within British Columbia. As a result of this development the Chinese with a large male population have turned to small trading ventures and have spread out across Canada, and to types of agriculture demanding intensive labour such as market gardening. The Japanese have also turned to commercial pursuits as well as to intensive agriculture but because of the influence of the large numbers of Japanese women, they have remained in British Columbia. The Orientals have been forced into commerce and agriculture where organization on the part of Whites is achieved with difficulty. They have occupied interstitial positions the character of which depended on the character of their populations. Agriculture provides a cushion of self-sufficiency in times of stress, and the petty trades⁶ provide possibilities of returns by a direct linkage to the price system. A low standard of living is endured in the unskilled occupations in order to secure funds to purchase land as a protection and to develop agriculture as a basis of self-sufficiency. Industries in which seasonal demands were conspicuous and in which the competition of Oriental labour was consequently severe and therefore subject to agitation by White labour and to restriction, were deserted for types of agriculture in which seasonal demands were

⁶See Cheng Tien-Fang, *Oriental Immigration to Canada*, chap. ix.

high. Vancouver becomes the centre of a reserve army of Oriental labour. As a result of concentration their demands become more pronounced, political strength becomes more effective and associational life as a support to political strength more active. The lack of contacts between the first generation Japanese, and to a large extent the second generation Japanese, and the White population accentuates the importance of the cash nexus and increases the significance of competition with the White population.

The advantages of political interest on the part of Japan have been important as a result of its economic expansion. Trade activities have been significant not only in meeting the demands of Japanese engaged in primary product industries but also in the extension of Japanese external trade with Canada. Japanese trade has followed Japanese labour in the primary industries and Japanese capital has followed Japanese trade. The large trading units involved and the significance of trade with Japan have meant that political interest has been regarded as more ominous.

Calculations of a statistical character to determine the effect of the struggle against the Oriental population on their standards of living are important in so far as there is immediate dependence on the price system, but dependence on agriculture and relative self-sufficiency restricts their significance. Moreover, the character of cultural institutions limits the value of statistical evidence as reflections of psychic costs.⁷ Definitions set up in Western economic thought for the measurement of standards of living, such as that of Professor Bowley—"a composite of the goods and services obtained in nearly the same quantities by normal families whose mode of life is similar"—or of

⁷See J. A. Field, *Essays on Population and Other Papers* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 387 ff.

Professor Ely—"the number and character of the wants which a man considers more important than marriage and family constitute his 'standard of life'"—, reflect the European rather than the Oriental point of view. Concentration in Vancouver provides definite psychic advantages and disadvantages not effectively registered in the price system but registered in part in school and university attendance. Cheap schools in Japan encourage education abroad rather than in Canada. Remittance of money to the home country may involve a very low standard of living for the individual and a rise for the members of the family to whom the money is sent. Nevertheless Professor Carrothers has shown in chapters iii and iv that at present standards of living of Orientals in British Columbia are lower than those of Whites and that standards of living of Chinese are lower than those of Japanese. The lower standards of living of Chinese than of Japanese in their home countries⁸ and the greater slowness of Chinese standards to change because of the relative absence of Chinese families and of the relative effectiveness of Japanese family and community organization are reflected in statistical material. The success of Japanese community organization based on the importance of the family and the attitude of Japan toward Japanese subjects is evident in a political struggle. The failure of the Chinese has been accentuated by the success of the Japanese and has been evident in the heavy costs of a lower standard of living. But the term "standards of living" like "costs of production" is a fighting expression, and it may be that the Chinese seized with the weakness of their position may attempt to secure a greater mea-

⁸See Kokichi Morimoto, *The Standard of Living in Japan* (Baltimore, 1918); and L. K. Tao, *The Standard of Living among Chinese Workers* (China Institute of Pacific Relations, Shanghai, 1931).

sure of justice. But this assumes that their standards are sufficiently high to support a struggle for a higher standard of living. The right to struggle for a higher standard of living ought to be an ingredient of Western standards of civilization. The struggle between China and Japan is by no means restricted to the continent of Asia and has its implications for domestic problems in Canada.

Pressure of Oriental labour, by organized White groups, into occupations not susceptible of organization, and a consequent lower standard of living, possibly lowers the income of British Columbia but it probably increases the standard of living of White groups particularly in occupations susceptible to organization. The argument, that Oriental labour lowers the standard of living of White groups, is a weapon designed to improve the standard of living of the latter by restriction of Oriental labour. But it is given substance by the lower standards enforced by organization of White groups. Organized White groups are able to strengthen their position by legislation. They have "all the cards" and are able to build up a monopoly position, whereas Oriental labour is increasingly forced into a competitive situation and into the use of marginal resources. Restriction on immigration of Oriental labour, on the other hand, limits the intensity of competition and creates a monopoly position for Orientals in British Columbia against competition from Orientals outside Canada. The higher standard of living in British Columbia achieved by White groups and supported by the demands of a population accustomed to high standards, by virtue of the development of rich natural resources in minerals, fisheries, and lumbering, the application of mature technique conspicuous in the opening of the Panama Canal, and age groups favourable to rapid exploitation, have been exposed to com-

petition from immigrants from the Prairie Provinces, particularly with the decline in rate of expansion in that area and the period of drought and depression.⁹ Competition between White groups increases the difficulties of the Oriental problem.

Assuming the Western point of view, the net result of Oriental immigration in the sense that it implies increased division of labour is a rise in the standard of living of the Orientals and of the world generally. It probably contributes to a higher standard of living of the White population of British Columbia in the sense that a relatively low standard of living, and intensive work of the Orientals reduce the cost of living of the White population. There is need for a study of the standards of living of all the White groups in British Columbia. The Chinese population contributes substantially with less reduction for families. Exploitation is effected by restriction of Oriental population to limited occupations. But in spite of restrictions the standards of living of Orientals in the Western sense have improved with migration. How much more they would have improved by removal of restrictive practices it is difficult to say. Certainly the bitterness would be removed and the psychic returns would be enormous if the problems were attacked in the broad fashion indicated in this volume.

The problems raised by the conflict of Oriental and Western civilization in marginal areas of the Pacific depend in the future as in the past on the secular and cyclical economic expansion of the centres concerned. The gold rush of the fifties and sixties

⁹On the problem of regional competition and occupational competition see *Report of the Royal Commission Provincial Economic Inquiry* (Halifax, 1934), pp. 133 ff.; and H. A. Innis, "Notes on Problems of Adjustment in Canada" (*Journal of Political Economy*, Dec., 1935, pp. 800-7).

involved a pronounced migration from an area of a low standard of living in China, followed by a long period of depression and restrictive legislation. Completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Vancouver in 1885 was followed by rapid development of lumbering, fishing, and mining. A continuation of the spectacular outbursts of gold mining on the Pacific in the discoveries on the Klondike after 1896, the development of base metal mining in the interior of the province following construction of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, and the opening of the West were followed by feverish migration of population including Orientals. The intense speculative character of the period to 1914 was marked by short recessions particularly acute in an economy dependent on lumber, by agitation, and by legislation against the immigration of Orientals. Depression after the economic activity of the war brought further legislation and, after the boom of the twenties accentuated by the effects of the opening of the Panama Canal, further agitation. In spite of the general period of expansion from 1900 to 1929, the trend toward exclusion has been persistent and with decline in the rate of expansion, demands for restriction have been marked. On the other hand, the rise of Japan and the opening of the Pacific will involve increased demands for concessions and increasing difficulties in the solution of the Oriental problem in Canada. In an expanding economy, such as that of Japan, labour tends to flow toward that area, and restrictions in other countries are not serious in economic terms but they may be serious in political terms since the demand for labour is accompanied by demands for capital, raw materials, and markets.

H. A. I.

Toronto, September, 1938.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO PART I

IT is impossible to list all those who by their assistance made possible the completion of this study. The authors are under particular obligations to Dr. W. J. Black of the Canadian National Railways, and Mr. J. N. K. McAlister of the Canadian Pacific Railways, for facilitating contacts with prominent leaders in the industrial and financial life of British Columbia; and to the Hon. Ko Ishii, former Japanese Consul in Vancouver, and Dr. S. S. Osterhout of the United Church of Canada, for endorsing the survey and recommending it to the kind attention of leading people in the Japanese settlements of British Columbia. Among the latter we owe a special debt of gratitude to the Rev. K. Shimizu of Vancouver for his assistance throughout the study, and to the following Japanese in settlements in other parts of the province: the Rev. J. Mizuno and Mr. K. Tasaka of Steveston; Mr. H. Yamaga of Port Haney and Mr. K. Hayashi of Mission; and the Rev. Y. Yoshioka and Mr. M. Yoshimura of Kelowna.

This study is a composite product based not only on our field survey but also on other studies of the Japanese in British Columbia and we wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Mr. Reginda Sumida and to Mr. N. Yamaoka and his assistants.

We wish to express our thanks and appreciation to Dr. Grant Fleming, Dean of Medicine, McGill University, to Dr. Clarence Hincks of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in Canada, and to Mr. Walter Pettit, Assistant Director of the New York School of Social Work, for their reading and constructive criticism of the original manuscript. To Professor Harold A. Innis, Head of the Department

of Political Economy, University of Toronto, we are greatly indebted for his exhaustive and fruitful editing of all the material which goes to make up this book.

INTRODUCTION TO PART I

THE frontiers of the Occident and the Orient meet on the Pacific Coast of Canada. The contact has given rise to what is one of Canada's most interesting and perplexing problems. While Orientals are to be found in provinces outside of British Columbia, to the extent of 19,380 Chinese and 1,137 Japanese, they are diffused among the millions of Whites on the prairies and in the industrial centres of the East. In British Columbia, on the other hand, there are 27,139 Chinese and 22,205 Japanese, a grand total of approximately 50,000 Orientals for the Province—or one Oriental for every thirteen Whites. Though numerically unimportant from the standpoint of the Dominion, they are extremely significant to the people of British Columbia, constituting what White Canadians on the Pacific Coast have called "the Oriental Problem". "The Oriental immigration problem is one of vital importance to Canada, not only because of any racial pride or sentiment which may exist, but because the problem as to which is to be the dominating race on the North Pacific Coast of this continent, Oriental or Occidental, is one which must be solved."¹

But it is no longer an "Oriental" problem, involving the Chinese and the Japanese. Although the Chinese outnumber the Japanese in British Columbia, they are not regarded as likely to provide more than an occasional disturbance² in the few trades or industries in which they are allowed to compete. Moreover, as a population menace they no longer exist since the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 has reduced

¹Harry H. Stevens, *The Oriental Problem* (undated but approximate date 1921).

²J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, *The Immigration Problem* (New York, 1917), p. 217.

the immigrants from China to an insignificant number, and also because the great majority of those who came to this country before the passing of the Act were males. There are now only 3,468 females, including women and children, in a total of 46,519 Chinese in the Dominion. The Chinese are, therefore, in a position where they can neither recruit from the homeland nor maintain their population in British Columbia or the Dominion by natural increase. The Anti-Orientalists no longer fear them and speak tolerantly, almost with respect, about our "trustworthy" Chinese, especially when they compare them with the Japanese.

While the Chinese are confined to a few industries and seem content to remain in them, the Japanese are competing all along the line with an aggressive efficiency which confounds the Whites. In addition, the population growth of the Japanese has acquired a sinister significance for many British Columbians, involving what they are pleased to call "the peaceful penetration" of their Province. Hundreds of Japanese are added yearly to the thousands already in the Province by a comparatively large natural increase, as well as by the possible admission annually of one hundred and fifty more under the latest version of the Gentlemen's Agreement. This dual menace of a rapidly increasing Japanese population and of their successful economic competition constitutes the present "Oriental problem" on the North Pacific Coast.

The following study is devoted, therefore, to a consideration of the Japanese and is made in the hope that better relations between the Japanese and other racial groups in the Dominion will follow as a result of a more adequate knowledge of all the factors contributing to the situation. In a sense the opposing groups in British Columbia understand each other already only too well, but ignorance still contributes

in no small measure to the suspicion and prejudice which surround the Canadian Japanese, just as it has been materially responsible for the ill will directed against other distinctively foreign groups within the Dominion.

While using the results of the survey with caution, realizing their limitations, we present the study as a reasonably accurate picture of what has happened and is happening to one of the most interesting immigrant groups in our Canadian mosaic. Only in so far as all factors are considered and both sides are given their due shall we get a just appreciation of the difficulties surrounding the question and a fair prospect of an ultimate solution of the problem.

We have approached this racial problem in terms of a generally accepted theory of race relations which assumes the existence of a universal process of competition. In the struggle for the means of subsistence and for social status, men inevitably compete as well as co-operate with each other. In competition there is differential success: some achieve, some fail, and the rest find their places between these extremes. The acquired characteristics of those who succeed, such as the possessions of the wealthy, set them off as a group apart from others. They are disliked by some and envied by most members of the community. This gives rise to a phenomenon popularly referred to as "class conflict". Race conflict and class conflict have much in common. Both are products of competition. In race conflict as in class conflict the results of more efficient competition set off one group—in this case, the foreigners—against another group—the native-born. But in addition to these features shared in common with class conflict, there are added in race conflict the factors of culture and colour. These actually become more potentially significant symbols

of differentiation than are the possessions of persons of wealth, because factors such as race and culture run counter to, and antagonize, the ingrained patriotic prejudices of the native population. The native-born are inclined to look with suspicion on the outlander, but when the latter is of different colour he is particularly unfortunate because he is seen in relief, as it were, against a background of Whites. That is why even moderate economic progress is a dangerous thing for the foreign-born in a race conflict situation.³

The foregoing theory of race relations considers race conflict as a phase of a "race relations cycle". "In the relations of races there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself. . . . [It] takes the form, to state it abstractly, of contacts, competition [conflict], accommodation and eventual assimilation."⁴ The cycle begins with immigration which provides the setting for contacts between the two racial groups. It is followed by competition which is a continuous, impersonal process implicit in the idea of the struggle for subsistence. Conflict ensues when there is an awareness and identification of the competitors by each other. What might be little more than friendly rivalry between White competitors becomes aggravated in race relations by the distinguishing physiological characteristics of the outsiders. The conflict is of an intermittent nature and is marked by truces, "agreements", or accommodations. These define the status of the respective competitors, but conflict breaks out anew and another

³"The trouble is not with the Japanese mind but with the Japanese skin. The Japanese is not the right color. The fact that the Japanese bears in his features a distinctive racial hall mark, that he wears so to speak, a racial uniform, classifies him" (R. E. Park in *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1914, pp. 610-11).

⁴R. E. Park, "United States Race Relations Survey" (*Survey Graphic*, May, 1926, pp. 192-6).

“definition of the situation” is found to be necessary. Assimilation results when the attitudes and sentiments of one group merge with those of the other and when both react in the same way to common symbols in the new cultural situation.

With this underlying theory, we adopted the following procedure. The literature enabled us to study the backgrounds of the Japanese and to become acquainted with the nature of their relations with racial groups in other parts of the world. Works on the Japanese situation in the United States where conditions are similar to those which obtain on the North Pacific Coast proved particularly stimulating and informative. Among the more important was a survey of race differences and race prejudice, with particular reference to the role of the Oriental peoples on the Pacific Coast of the United States, by Robert E. Park and others in 1925. The majority of American studies, however, date back a decade or longer when interest in the whole question of immigration into the United States was much more vital than it has been in recent years.⁵

The accumulation of data on the external and distributive aspects of Japanese settlement in British Columbia was followed by a study of Dominion population statistics for the past four decades and by interviews with persons conversant with the location and settlement of the Japanese in the Province. The result gave us not only a picture of the settlement process but also provided us with a more intimate knowledge of the Japanese communities in British Columbia. With this preliminary work we then proceeded, in collaboration with our Japanese assistant, with preparations for our field survey. Representative

⁵See the Bibliography in the Appendix for books and articles on the subject.

non-urban communities were selected to be observed in conjunction with the predominant industrial activities of the Japanese resident in them: agriculture, fishing, lumbering, and mining. Vancouver, with nearly one-third of the Japanese population of the Province, was chosen as representing the urban settlements.

The field survey involved a motor tour of nearly fourteen hundred miles in the summer of 1934, and more or less intensive contacts by one or both members of the survey staff with over twenty communities in the Province. Two branches of the fishing industry (gill-net and troll fishing) were covered by visits to Steveston on the mainland and Ucluelet on Vancouver Island. In connection with the farming industry, we visited the two valleys in the Province in which the Japanese are found in significant numbers, going first to the Fraser Valley and stopping over at such centres as Port Hammond, Port Haney, Whonnock, and Mission City; after which we proceeded to the Okanagan Valley visiting Okanagan Centre, Kelowna, and Summerland. In addition, we studied the working conditions and standard of living of the Japanese in lumbering centres like Fraser Mills, Chemainus, Woodfibre, and Ocean Falls, and the important mining centres of Cumberland and Britannia Beach. A total of 227 families was visited in these non-urban communities out of an approximate total of 1,094, providing us with fairly intimate contacts with over 20 per cent of the population. An additional 140 family heads and single men were included in our survey of the Japanese in the city of Vancouver, representing approximately 5 per cent of the estimated Japanese population of the city.

Among the instruments employed in the collection of data during the field survey were the questionnaires.

The most important of these was a composite product prepared after studying a number of individual questionnaires which had been used and tested by the Department of Sociology of McGill University.

Coincident with the use of the questionnaire, the writer and his assistant in all the places visited interviewed individuals on the institutional and community aspects of Japanese settlements in British Columbia. These persons included clergymen of the Buddhist and Christian faiths, leading business men, newspaper editors of the Japanese and White sections of the communities, leaders and members of Japanese organizations in all the communities, Japanese graduates and undergraduates of the University of British Columbia, as well as outstanding anti-Japanese and anti-Oriental Canadians. In addition to the foregoing contacts, we had the opportunity of eating and sleeping in Japanese homes and of seeing and talking with the people at work on their farms, in the lumber camps, and in the fishing villages, and throughout our stay in Vancouver we were in intimate, daily contact with the Japanese people.

A special feature of our programme in Vancouver was a series of round table conferences with representative Japanese to discuss such topics as "Changes in Japanese Family Life in Canada", "The Language Problem for the First and Second Generations", "Intermarriage of Japanese and White Canadians", "Buddhism and Christianity among the Japanese Canadians", and "Occupational Discrimination against the Japanese in British Columbia". Persons of both sexes and of the two generations attended the meetings. They were drawn from the medical, engineering, and teaching professions, as well as from business men, housewives, and the student group. The Japanese spoke without reserve, and since they

are perhaps more intelligently aware of their status in the community than almost any other racial group, the invariable result of the meetings was for us an understanding of their problems such as could be obtained in no other manner.

The findings acquired by means of these varied contacts with the Japanese and with representative Whites are supplemented by materials taken from two other studies. The first of these is a thesis prepared by our Japanese assistant as a partial requirement for his Master of Arts degree at the University of British Columbia.⁶ With his consent, we make generous use of his findings where his methods in obtaining them are satisfactory, and of his opinions where they commend themselves to us as a fair representation of things as they are. While we are indebted to him for the use of his material, he is not responsible in any way for the findings or opinions presented in this report even though in places they may be in entire agreement with his own.

The second study to which we are indebted is a survey of the second generation Japanese in British Columbia, undertaken by the Canadian Japanese Association in 1935. Our assistant "submitted a plan for such a study to the Japanese Students' Club [of the University of British Columbia] which accepted his proposal, worked his scheme into definite shape, and started a drive to raise the necessary funds to carry out the undertaking. In the Spring of 1935, however, the sponsorship of the survey was transferred to the Canadian Japanese Association with the understanding that this organization would meet all the

⁶Reginda Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (a thesis submitted to the Department of Economics of the University of British Columbia, 1935).

financial obligations.”⁷ The survey was conducted by Mr. N. Yamaoka in a thorough manner and presents an eminently fair picture of conditions among the second generation Japanese.

The object of the present study is to submit a total picture of the Japanese in Canada in terms of the significant stages in their development since they arrived in this country. We deal first with the settlement process or that phase of the movement bounded by their emigration from Japan and their settlement and expansion in Canada, concentrating on the events resulting in the successive Gentlemen's Agreements and on an analysis of the immigration movement itself. We consider the settlement process in Canada as an integral part of the world-wide programme of Japanese expansion, and we devote particular attention to such aspects of their settlement in Canada as their concentration in a small section of British Columbia, their subsequent population growth and gradual invasion of the economic life of that Province. The progress of the Japanese and their assimilation are then studied in connection with their occupational development and their rising standard of living. Particular stress is laid on the shift of the Japanese from the heavy labour industries through which they entered the economic life of the country into agricultural and commercial activities as a result of their fight for social status and of the racial discrimination which accompanied and to a certain extent resulted from it. We follow the Japanese into the commercial occupations and into the larger urban communities. The residential and occupational distribution of the Japanese in Vancouver, the most important of their urban colonies, is studied as an index of concomitant social changes in the life of the people.

⁷Canadian Japanese Association, *Survey of the Second Generation of Japanese in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1935).

Attention then shifts from the more concrete and external activities of the group in things economic, to the more intimate and informal but no less significant activities in the non-material or social aspects of their culture. We study the inner phase of Japanese life in Canada, with Japanese-Canadian society as a marginal culture, its roots in the soil of the homeland and its structure and content increasingly modified by contact with the environment of the New World. Basic institutions peculiar to the culture are described—the family, the church, and community associations—in connection with which the most important activities of the people are undertaken. Relations which the Japanese have with White Canadians are described. The contacts of the first generation are confined to occupational situations. These relations being of a conflict nature result in the creation of an adverse public opinion and in economic and political discrimination. While the initial contacts of the second generation are more pleasant because they begin in school and at play, once the young people approach adulthood they inherit the legacy of conflict left by their fathers. The tragedy of the second generation lies in the fact that they become aliens in the land of their birth, Canadians in almost every respect save acceptance by other Canadians. Finally, the social problems in the community life of the Japanese are considered and the Japanese are studied as a major social problem in the life of the Province and the Dominion. The social pathology of the Japanese-Canadian communities includes problems associated with dependency and delinquency, physical and mental health, and community conflict. The last chapter of Part I summarizes the arguments centring around “the Japanese question”, presents the measures advanced by different groups for the solution of the problem, and gives the conclusions of this study.

PART I

THE JAPANESE CANADIANS

CHAPTER I

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

TOWARDS the close of the sixteenth century¹ and in the opening years of the seventeenth, the Japanese were trading and colonizing in the South Pacific on a scale which presaged their ultimate importance in the Orient. As a result of their expansion they came into contact with the Spaniards in Mexico and returned with glowing reports of the New World. In 1610 and again in 1613 Japanese embassies proceeded to Acapulco, Mexico, to study conditions of trade with New Spain.² The way seemed clear not only for extensive trade with Mexico but also for possible settlement on some part of the upper half of the North American continent. The *Mayflower* had not yet arrived.

The Japanese had found an "open door" to the continent of North America, but they did not take advantage of it. About two decades after the return of the embassies to Japan, her rulers, fearing the possible consequences of the aggressive tactics of missionaries and traders from Europe, embarked on a policy of inclusion and exclusion which was to keep her isolated for over two hundred years. Under this policy, adopted in 1638, no foreigners except a few favoured Chinese and Dutch traders were allowed to enter the ports of Japan and no Japanese were permitted to leave the country under pain of death. During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and part of the nineteenth centuries when England, France, Spain,

¹George Kennan, "How Japan Lost Her Chance in the Pacific" (*The Outlook*, June 27, 1914, p. 488).

²Z. Nuttall, "Earliest Historical Relations Between Mexico and Japan" (University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. IV, 1906, pp. 1-47).

and other countries were colonizing the sparsely populated sections of the two Americas, Japan lived in almost monastic seclusion from the rest of the world.

It was not until 1854 when Commodore Perry of the American Navy forcibly negotiated a treaty with the government of Japan, establishing peace and amity and providing for trade relations between the United States and Japan by the opening of Japanese ports to American ships, that contact with the outside world was re-established. Great Britain, Russia, and Holland took similar steps a year later and their example was followed by other countries in the next few years. In 1858 the United States followed up its advantage by negotiating the first commercial treaty with Japan, in one of the important provisions of which, each country granted to the citizens of the other the right to migrate and settle in its territory. Great Britain, Russia, Holland, and other countries again followed the lead of the United States by negotiating similar treaties. In spite of these treaties, Japan held to her policy of forbidding her citizens to leave the country until 1866 when laws were passed permitting the higher classes, such as merchants and students, to travel in foreign lands in order that they might acquire the knowledge and learn the techniques of the Western world.

This change in policy was the result of an internal upheaval which was to transform Japan in one generation from a feudal nation to a great world power. Since 1603 the real rulers in Japan had been the Tokugawa Shogunate. The discontent which had been gathering for years under this régime came to a head in 1867 when the Shogun was compelled to resign and the Imperial Government was restored to power. The progressive policy followed by the Emperor Meiji and his advisers so improved the status

of the country at home and abroad that the year 1868 is justly regarded as the beginning of the modern era in Japan. The "Charter Oath" of the young Emperor in that year expressed the enlightened outlook of the new régime: "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world, so that the foundation of the Empire may be strengthened."³ In order to effect this policy, experts were borrowed from the United States, Britain, and France to reorganize the educational system, the navy, and the army, respectively; while Japanese of the upper classes were sent abroad to study the achievements of the United States and the more advanced nations of Europe. Over 1,100 passports were issued to Japanese going to these countries between 1868 and 1875.⁴

But these travellers were not emigrants, and emigration in the strict sense of the term was negligible. In 1868 one hundred and fifty Japanese labourers emigrated to Hawaii under private contract to work on the sugar plantations. The conditions under which these labourers together with the Chinese coolies already on the plantations had to work amounted to slavery, and the Japanese Government refused to permit others to emigrate to the islands. The Japanese were engaged in working out a colonization scheme on the Island of Hokkaido, within the Empire. Between 1869 and 1884 the Government settled 105,000 people on this island. For the same period foreign emigration amounted to only 15,416—the great majority of these going to other Asiatic countries. The success of the Hokkaido colonization scheme, as well as the more sympathetic knowledge of the world in general brought back by

³Y. Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States* (Stanford University Press, 1932), p. 3.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 5.

merchants and student travellers, encouraged the Japanese Government to look more favourably on emigration. In 1885 it participated in a conference with Hawaiian sugar planters and a treaty was entered into permitting the emigration of Japanese labourers. The initial success of the nine hundred-odd labourers who left in the first year for Hawaii stimulated further emigration not only to the islands but also to Australia, the United States, Canada, and the republics of South America. Before the end of the century the volume of emigration had become so great and the proceeds from it so lucrative that the Japanese Government was persuaded to turn the business over to private companies owned and managed by the leading business men and politicians of Japan.⁵

For at least a decade after 1884 the influx into Canada⁶ was not great. There were not more than 1,000 Japanese in the Dominion in 1896, the majority being fishermen on the coast of British Columbia. From that date they came in ever-increasing numbers to fill the demands of such rapidly expanding industries as fishing, lumbering, coal mining, and railroad construction. In 1901⁷ there were 4,738 Japanese in Canada (97 per cent in British Columbia) representing an increase of over 350 per cent in the five years.

The exact date of the arrival of the first Japanese immigrants in Canada is not known because official records were not kept before 1904. According to the Japanese, the first member of their race to arrive in Canada was a sailor, Manzo Nagano by name. He came in 1877 on his first trip as a sailor and remained ashore at New Westminster when his ship returned

⁵*Japan Year Book*, 1933, p. 62.

⁶J. Nakayama, *Canada Doho Hatten Takian*, 1929, pp. 37-42. Courtesy of R. Sumida.

⁷*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1902, no. 54, p. 327.

to the Orient. He borrowed a boat and with an Italian partner engaged in salmon fishing on the Fraser River, the forerunner of hundreds of Japanese who were to enter the same industry. He gave up the job in 1880 and went to Vancouver, then more popularly known as Gastown, where he became a longshoreman. Unable to settle down, he sailed shortly for Shanghai and other points in the Orient to return in 1884 to New Westminster where he found seven or eight Japanese engaged in fishing. He then went to the United States and once more entered fishing, until one day in 1886 he was driven north by a storm as far as New Westminster where he found another small group of his countrymen in the fishing industry. He went back to Seattle and entered business but after three or four years returned to Japan. In 1892 he came out to Canada again, this time to become a permanent resident, settling in Victoria where he opened a small store.

Between 1896 and 1901 nearly 14,000 Japanese immigrants entered the ports of British Columbia. The majority were destined for the United States and only stopped over at the Canadian ports because they were travelling on Canadian Pacific steamships which had more adequate facilities for immigrant accommodation than had American ships.

As early as 1891 an attempt was made to introduce an anti-Japanese measure in the Legislature of British Columbia by an amendment to a motion to increase the Chinese Head Tax from fifty to two hundred dollars and extending it to include the Japanese. The amendment was withdrawn but hostility continued to increase and after 1895, legislature after legislature enacted laws of a restrictive nature. These laws attempted to prevent the influx of immigrants as in the so-called Natal Act (deriving its name from a

similar measure sponsored by the State of Natal in the Union of South Africa) and to prohibit the employment of Japanese and Chinese on works carried out under any franchise granted by private Acts as in the Labor Regulation Act. The Dominion Government disallowed these Acts for Imperial reasons. In 1894 England and Japan had negotiated a new treaty, an introductory clause of which gave the subjects of either country the right to enter, travel, and reside in any part of the Dominions and possessions of the other. Sir Mackenzie Bowell's Government in 1895 expressed the willingness of Canada to become a party to the treaty provided that reservations were made with reference to the Dominion's right to control immigration. Japan agreed to the reservations, but the administration was defeated at the polls and the new Canadian Government rejected the treaty because of objections to other clauses.

After 1900, Japanese immigration to Canada almost came to a standstill. The Japanese Consulate reported a total of only 447 passports issued to Japanese going to Canada for 1901-4.⁸ British Columbia was becoming acutely conscious of her new immigrants as a result of immigration in the preceding years. A Royal Commission was set up to investigate the general character of the new immigration, and this led Japan, even before the findings of the Commission were published, to volunteer to restrict further emigration to the Dominion. The impending war with Russia called for complete mobilization of her resources, and restriction lasted until the end of the crisis in September, 1905. Between that date and June 30, 1906, nearly 2,000 Japanese entered Canada, and in the next nine months 2,042 more. With the

⁸Cheng Tien-Fang, *Oriental Immigration to Canada* (Shanghai, 1931), p. 115.

arrival of over 7,000 in the year ending March 31, 1908, the situation became acute and federal action ensued.

In 1906, Canada became a party to the Anglo-Japanese treaty, in part perhaps because of pressure brought to bear on the Dominion Government by Great Britain, as Mr. R. L. Borden, the Leader of the Opposition, contended. But reservations could not be made by the Dominion on the important question of control of the immigration movement because Japan had enacted legislation which precluded the possibility of her acceptance of the reservations. As a result the control of Japanese immigration into the Dominion was virtually renounced by the Canadian Government. The influx in 1907 was a result of an American regulation prohibiting Japanese immigrants to Hawaii from securing passports to go to the mainland. It was no longer possible to get into the United States by way of Hawaii and immigrants then in the Islands turned to British Columbia as an alternative. Ships were chartered by Japanese agencies in Hawaii to transport immigrants to Canada. In addition to these immigrants, a larger number than usual came directly from Japan, with the result that the total was imposing. On August 12, 1907, organized labour, which suffered most from the invasion, arranged a meeting in the Labour Hall and formed an anti-Asiatic League with a membership of over five hundred. A strong resolution against the Japanese was passed and endorsed by the leaders of all political parties. Agitation continued during the following weeks, and culminated in a riot on September 7. A mob of Whites marched on the City Hall and burned an effigy of Dunsmuir, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, who was a wealthy mine-owner and an employer of Oriental labour. They went from there

to the Oriental section where they did a lot of damage to Chinatown, and thence to the quarter of the city where the Japanese lived, but here, they were driven back.

The riot was followed by a Royal Commission to inquire into the losses incurred by the Orientals. The "great skill, unvarying patience and urbanity" with which the Commissioner, Mr. Mackenzie King, conducted his task did much to soothe the feelings of the outraged Oriental communities. After the awards for damages were made, another investigation was initiated by a Dominion Order-in-Council appointing Mr. King to look into the methods by which Oriental (Japanese) labourers had been induced to emigrate to Canada in such large numbers. The great increase was attributed to the desire of Canadian corporations for cheap contract labour, to the fact that Japanese who were denied entry to the United States were very frequently permitted to enter Canada, and to irregularities in the Hawaiian situation for which Japan was not responsible.

Meanwhile, the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Minister of Labour in the Dominion Government, had been sent to Japan to negotiate with the Japanese authorities on the question of further immigration. The result was an understanding commonly known as "the Gentlemen's Agreement",⁹ based on "the Gentlemen's Agreement" negotiated the previous year between the United States and Japan. In entering the Agreement, Japan took the position that "although the existing treaty between Japan and Canada absolutely guarantees to Japanese subjects full liberty to enter, travel and reside in any part of the Dominion of Canada, yet it is not the intention of the Imperial Government to insist upon the complete enjoyment

⁹*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1909, no. 36, p. 101.

of the rights and privileges guaranteed by those stipulations when that would involve disregard of special conditions which may prevail in Canada from time to time".¹⁰

Japan volunteered to restrict emigration by means of two sets of regulations. In the first, Japanese emigrants were limited to the following classes: first, prior residents in Canada and their wives and children; secondly, those specially engaged by Japanese residents in Canada for *bona fide* personal and domestic service; thirdly, contract emigrants whose terms of contract, work to be done, and names and standing of the intended employers were satisfactorily specified; and fourthly, agricultural labourers brought in by Japanese agricultural holders in Canada. All these classes were obliged to have certificates issued by Japanese consular authorities. In the second set of regulations, the Japanese consuls in Canada were instructed not to issue certificates for contract labourers unless these contracts received the approval of the Canadian Government. The number of agricultural labourers was to be limited to ten for each one hundred acres of land owned by the Japanese in Canada. "With reference to domestic and agricultural laborers mentioned in the regulations, the Japanese Government do not contemplate that under existing circumstances these two classes should exceed four hundred annually."

The Gentlemen's Agreement failed in part because the details were never explained to the public. Many interested people in the Province laboured under the delusion that a maximum of four hundred Japanese immigrants would be permitted to enter this country

¹⁰*Canada, Debates of the House of Commons*, 1912-3, p. 6971.

annually,¹¹ not realizing that this maximum had reference only to the two classes specified, namely, domestic and agricultural labourers. When the total number of Japanese entering yearly was in excess of four hundred, as it was for every year except one in the next ten years, Japan was accused of bad faith. This charge was denied by Dominion statesmen conversant with the details of the Agreement but the denial did little to allay the suspicion of British Columbians that the Japanese Government was trying to circumvent the terms of the Agreement.

With the victory of the Conservative party in 1911 a delegation from British Columbia presented the case of the Province to the new Prime Minister, the Right Hon. R. L. Borden, who assured them that special attention would be paid to the interests of British Columbia before Canada accepted the new Treaty of Commerce and Navigation which had been concluded a few months earlier between Great Britain and Japan. Shortly before the expiration of the time for adherence to the treaty (1913), the Canadian Prime Minister informed Japan that Canada was ready to adhere to the treaty on condition that it should not be deemed to repeal or affect any provisions in the Canadian Immigration Act.¹² The proviso was accepted by Japan on the expressed assumption that no discrimination would be made against her subjects. This reservation blocked the Dominion Government, and British Columbia seemed no nearer its objective. Determined to protect the interests of his Province, Premier McBride went to London and finally succeeded in obtaining assurances from Sir Edward Grey

¹¹For evidences of this misunderstanding see Tom MacInnes, *Oriental Occupation of British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1927), pp. 12, 18; and Charles E. Hope and W. K. Earle, "The Oriental Threat" (*Maclean's Magazine*, May 1, 1933).

¹²*Canada, Sessional Papers*, no. 190, 1913.

that steps would be taken to the end that British Columbia's grievances might be removed. Before anything could be done in the way of settlement, however, the Great War broke out.

No serious objection to the Japanese was raised during the war. Japan was an ally of Great Britain and Japanese Canadians were enrolled in Canadian regiments. A feeling almost approximating goodwill was generated towards the Japanese immigrants in British Columbia. Moreover, since many Whites had enlisted, the labourers were too few to meet the increasing demands of Britain and her allies for more supplies, and employers were only too willing to accept all the Japanese who were available. White labourers had no objections to their employment because there was more than enough work for all. After the war, however, when the soldiers returned, business was slack, and jobs became increasingly scarce, public attention became focused on the Orientals. Their population had increased both as a result of their high birth-rate and the continuous arrival of immigrants from the homeland, and they had achieved a measure of economic success. The labour shortage during the war had enabled them to enter new trades and industries and to establish themselves securely in many of these. To the soldiers returning from the "Front" and expecting speedy placement in their old jobs or in new and better ones, British Columbia presented the spectacle of a Province overrun by immigrants from the Orient. "Patriotism" and "Exclusion" became the watchwords of the day.

No less than five resolutions dealing with the Oriental question were passed by the Legislature of British Columbia in the decade following the war. In 1922, the British Columbia members of both political parties in the Dominion Parliament presented the case

for their Province before the House of Commons, and Parliament passed a resolution favouring the "effective restriction" of Oriental immigration into the Dominion. The only alternative to this proposal was a policy of "exclusion" which was advocated by the members from British Columbia and by members of the Opposition. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 was passed whereby all but an insignificant number of Chinese were excluded from the Dominion. A modification of the Gentlemen's Agreement was effected in the same year whereby the maximum of four hundred agricultural and domestic Japanese labourers was reduced to one hundred and fifty, with no restrictions on prior residents or on the wives and children of immigrants already here. The number and kind of the Japanese immigrants entering Canada following the new Agreement gave evidence of the good faith of Japan. The average number of males admitted annually between March 31, 1922, and March 31, 1928, was 147 as compared with an annual average for all Japanese immigrants of 449 for the same period. Even this reduction did not satisfy many of the Whites in British Columbia, and in 1928, when the establishment of a Canadian minister in Tokyo was under consideration, the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, took advantage of the opportunity for further discussion and succeeded in getting an additional modification of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

It is this Agreement which gives to Canada control of the entry of Japanese immigrants into the Dominion at the present time. Mr. Mackenzie King paid tribute in Parliament to the splendid co-operation of the Japanese Government and its representative in Ottawa and pointed out that the new Agreement involved a marked departure from its predecessors because for the

first time it puts technical control of the movement of Japanese immigrants to Canada in the hands of the Canadian representative in Tokyo. Japan has undertaken to restrict the total number of immigrants coming to this country to one hundred and fifty persons annually, whether they be agricultural labourers, domestic servants, the wives and children of Japanese resident in Canada, or any others. She has given assurance that steps would be taken to terminate the practice of Japanese Canadians sending for so-called "picture-brides",¹³ a means whereby single Japanese males in Canada were able to obtain their wives from Japan in mail-order fashion. Finally, she agreed that, despite the provisions of the commercial treaty now in existence which gives certain rights to her people in travelling to or from Canada, Canadian officers of the Department of Immigration shall apply to the Japanese the immigration laws applicable to the people of all other countries.¹⁴ Since the modified Agreement has been in effect (1929), a total of 812 were admitted up to March 31, 1934, or an average of 162 per year.

¹³The large proportion of women was made possible by the admission of so-called "picture brides". With no wives in Japan, and without the means to return and get married, single men were provided for by the picture-bride system. This form of courtship and marriage was not as radical a departure from the traditional forms of match-making in Japan as Westerners are frequently inclined to think, for in Japan the parents have immemorially played a much more dominant role in the marriage of their children than in Anglo-Saxon countries. When the immigrant wanted a home for himself in Canada he corresponded with his parents and made known his desires. The parents then did what they might have done had the son been at home instead of in Canada. They chose the girl whom they regarded as a most suitable mate for their son. When they had selected her they sent a picture of the girl and information concerning her to the son in Canada. If he was satisfied he advised his parents to make the customary arrangements with the family of the girl. When this was done his parents registered the "marriage" in Japan, after which the groom wrote to the bride and the bride to the groom. The groom then applied for a passport for his bride and she came to Canada as the "wife" of the immigrant.

¹⁴W. L. Mackenzie King, in *Canada, Debates of the House of Commons*, 1928, vol. III, p. 4162.

The number in excess of the maximum of 150 is due to the gradual nature of the reduction, the totals for the last two years prior to 1934 being both well under the quota.

Migration of the Japanese to Canada went through two fairly distinct stages. The first extends roughly from 1885 to 1910, during which time the movement was primarily one of adult males. Nearly ten times as many men as women arrived from Japan between 1904 and 1909. The preponderance of males was a result of the seasonal character of migration at this stage. Nine hundred and forty-nine Japanese left British Columbia for Japan by Canadian Pacific boats between May, 1893, and September, 1901, representing well over one-fourth of the arrivals for the same period.¹⁵ Immigration frequently takes a seasonal character in its early stages but in the case of the Japanese it was a consequence of the paternalistic attitude of the Japanese Government.

Under Japanese law every subject is registered in his native prefecture, which he may not leave without permission of the authorities and from which he, or she, must obtain their passport when they desire to emigrate. Inasmuch as the Government claims the perpetual allegiance of its subject, it grants a passport limited to three years, and I was informed that a large part of the emigrants who thus go abroad return to their native land sooner or later, and consequently few Japanese, and indeed I may say none, come to the United States with a view to remaining or making homes, the theory of their emigration system being for the promotion of emigration as an educational process and money-making investment for a temporary period.¹⁶

Even after migration had lost much of its seasonal character it remained predominantly a movement of males. It was not until the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, over two decades after the first Japanese

¹⁵*Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, 1902, p. 331.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 200.

immigrants had arrived, that restrictions were placed on the most numerous classes of male immigrants entering the country. Between 1907 and 1920, except for two years towards the end of the war, the number of male immigrants arriving in Canada was invariably less than the number of adult females. After 1920, the male proportion of all immigrants declined steadily until 1928 when restrictions were placed on the entry of women. Between 1921 and 1931, 1,263 Japanese males entered Canada as compared with 2,114 adult females (see pp. 202-3).

The "Picture-bride" system made possible the immigration of the high percentage of women, and their coming profoundly altered the character of Japanese immigration. Instead of persisting as a seasonal migration of males who came to Canada for a temporary residence, it became a *bona fide* movement of immigrants arriving here with the intention of remaining in the country. The Japanese, unlike the Chinese, had a more normal distribution of the two sexes, and lived under more wholesome conditions in homes of their own. The proportion of females to males in the Japanese population in Canada in 1931 was nearly seven to ten, as compared with a proportion of less than one female to ten males in the Chinese population. Finally though fewer immigrants might come from Japan than formerly because of the increasing restrictions, individuals of Japanese origin will be born here and ensure the perpetuation of the Japanese as a distinctive population group.

These then were the outstanding characteristics of the movement of Japanese to this country. It began as a seasonal migration of unattached young men drawn for the most part from the homes of farmers, fishermen, and labourers, in some of the poorest

districts of one of the poorest¹⁷ and most densely populated countries in the world. It ended with the influx of a sufficient number of women to establish homes and ensure the perpetuation of this racial group as a continuing minority of great importance in the life of this country.

¹⁷The immigrants brought little with them other than the talents with which nature had endowed them and which nature had sharpened. The average price for steerage on the ocean liners plying between Japan and Canada at the time of their immigration was fifty dollars, the equivalent of one hundred yen in Japan, a very large sum of money in the economy of the occupational groups from which the immigrants were drawn. Immigrants were frequently compelled to borrow from relatives and friends, mortgaging their future for months after their arrival in Canada.

CHAPTER II

SETTLEMENT AND EXPANSION

I. THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

JAPANESE settlement in Canada is only one phase of the settlement of Japanese people in the different countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. To be seen in proper perspective, it must be presented as part of this larger movement. The general migration began almost immediately after Japan's revival of contacts with the other nations of the world. At first the movement was to unoccupied territories within the Empire and to China and Korea on the Asiatic mainland. But settlement on the mainland, either in territories under her domination or within the sphere of her influence, did not prove successful. The inclement nature of the climate, the general density of the population, and the very low standard of living of people in the remaining Asiatic countries militated against successful Japanese settlement. As a result, Japanese emigration sought an outlet in other directions: first in Hawaii, and after a successful period of experimentation there, in the United States, Australia, and Canada. Japanese immigrants arriving in these countries met with equable climates, unoccupied lands, and a comparatively high standard of living. Initially these countries seemed a more promising field of settlement, and the Japanese came to them in large numbers. From 1885 to 1908, with the exception of Australia where restriction was early enforced, all these countries were notable for the veritable wave of immigrants from the Orient, and especially from Japan. Emigrants to Hawaii, Australia, the United States, and Canada during these

years totalled 269,525, or approximately 50 per cent of all Japanese emigrants, and 77 per cent of all Japanese emigrants to countries outside of Asia.¹

The same period was also notable for a strongly adverse reaction in these countries against the "rising tide of colour". Because of her proximity to the Orient and her fear of its hordes, Australia was the first to take action. She embarked on a policy of a one hundred per cent White Australia. The United States and Canada followed a more cautious course to the same effect, the measures in both countries being almost simultaneous in time and identical in nature. The United States negotiated a Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907 effecting voluntary restriction of the emigration movement by Japan, and Canada arrived at a similar understanding the following year. The Pacific Coast states and the Province of British Columbia, however, were dissatisfied with the results of the Agreements and agitated for more effective restriction. The result was that the United States passed its Exclusion Act in 1923, and in the same year Canada arranged for changes in the Gentlemen's Agreement involving a material reduction in the number of Japanese admitted annually to the Dominion. Canada negotiated a further revision in 1928 reducing the maximum number of Japanese immigrants permitted to enter annually to 150.

These measures closed the doors of two continents peopled by Whites, Australia and North America, to the Japanese, and compelled them to look to a third, South America. After 1908 Japanese emigration to South America increased in volume as the movement to the United States and Canada became progressively smaller. Japanese emigrants destined

¹Y. Ichihashi, *International Migrations* (New York, 1931), vol. II, p. 621.

for South American countries before 1908 totalled only 1,486, but between 1908 and 1924, their number reached 48,182.² The ultimate outcome of Japanese efforts to settle in South American republics, more especially in Brazil, Peru, and Argentina, is uncertain, though in recent years there have been signs to indicate that they may become as unwelcome there as they have been in North America. Brazil, to which the majority of the Japanese emigrants have gone, revised its constitutional laws in 1934 with a view to restricting immigration from Japan,³ and her action appears to be the beginning of a programme designed to exclude the Japanese from the South American republics.

As Japanese emigrants have been progressively excluded from Australia and North and South America, they have turned once more to their colonies and to the Asiatic mainland as the principal outlets for an increasing population. But the movement to the mainland has been no more successful in recent years than it was formerly. It has been characterized by a very heavy percentage of returning emigrants, even as compared with their intercontinental migration. Emigration from Japan to all countries is about 20,000 in the best years, and returning emigrants number about 14,000 each year. The net outflow in a successful year, therefore, is only about 6,000.⁴ With an annual population increase of over 900,000, emigration of substantial importance is negligible. Race prejudice in the White countries, and geographic and economic conditions in the others, appear to have contributed to the problem.

²*Ibid.*

³Tsuneta Yano and Kyoichi Shirasaki, *Nippon, a Charted Survey of Japan* (Tokyo, 1936).

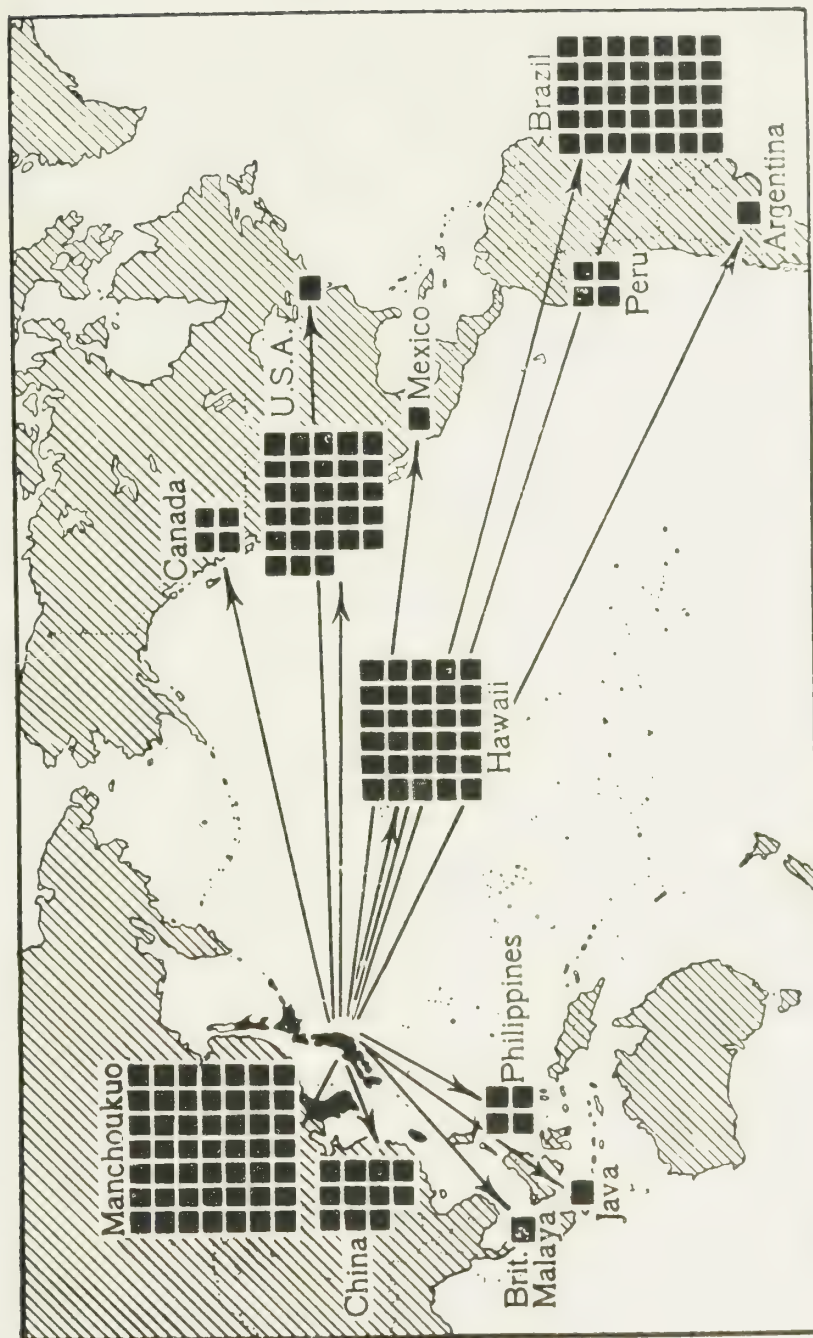
⁴Imre Ferenczi, *International Migration Statistics* (New York, 1929), vol. I, p. 160.

Although the movement began over seventy-five years ago there were not more than 1,058,300 Japanese residents outside of Japan in 1934, including emigrants and the descendants of emigrants. The size and location of the more important Japanese settlements throughout the world are indicated in the accompanying chart.

The selection of British Columbia as a place of Japanese residence in Canada is a result of its proximity to Japan—the first point reached with the least expenditure of money. Few immigrants on arrival had money with which to go elsewhere, and what they later acquired was needed to establish themselves in their new homes or to help relatives in Japan. In addition, and most important, the economic life of the Province enabled them to find a ready means of making a living. British Columbia was particularly attractive because it not only shared in the Canadian boom from 1896 to 1911 when over two billion dollars of British capital poured into the Dominion, but also because the Province was too remote from the Atlantic seaboard to be over-run by the low standard of living groups arriving in Canada from Central Europe. Again, the Province had a peculiar charm for the Japanese in its most agreeable climate and incomparable mountain scenery, its waters teeming with the varieties of fish known to them in their native land, and valleys as beautiful as those they had left at home. After the first few years, immigrants came eagerly out to friends and relatives. Our survey showed that out of 309 immigrants, 51 per cent had relatives or friends in British Columbia when they arrived. The settlement of the Japanese within British Columbia was as distinctive as their choice of that particular Province and no less significant.

In 1931, 18,281 of the 22,205 Japanese in British

JAPANESE RESIDENTS ABROAD IN 1934



Each square represents 5,000 Japanese. (From *Nippon, A Charted Survey of Japan, 1936*, by Tsuneta Yano and Kyoichi Shirasaki, Tokyo, Kokusei-Sha, 1936, p. 391.)

Columbia, or 82.2 per cent of the total, were in two of the ten statistical divisions of the Province, namely, 4 and 5. The vast majority in these two divisions were in the city of Vancouver, which had over eight of the twenty-two thousand, in the villages of the Fraser Valley, and on the east and west coasts of Vancouver Island. Well over three-fourths of the Japanese in British Columbia were settled within fifty to seventy-five miles of the city of Vancouver where they were within more or less immediate contact with a correspondingly large proportion of the White population, which was 500,791 for the same two divisions, or 72.1 per cent of the total population of British Columbia. The great majority of the remaining Japanese, representing less than 18 per cent were in three divisions: Number 3 in the Okanagan Valley, and Numbers 7 and 9, the fishing and lumbering centres along the mainland coast between Vancouver and Prince Rupert (see pp. 209-10).

DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BY
CENSUS DIVISIONS

Division	Japanese population	Total population	Division	Japanese population	Total population
No. 1	72	22,566	No. 6	77	30,025
" 2	64	40,455	" 7	828	12,658
" 3	876	40,523	" 8	12	21,534
" 4	16,195	379,858	" 9	995	18,698
" 5	3,086	120,933	" 10	0	7,013
TOTAL				22,205	694,263

Outside of the Dominion the Japanese have sought residence where they were not wanted, and have disliked residence where they have been free to settle. In Canada they have chosen one province in which to reside and have concentrated in a very limited section of it and have practically neglected all areas in the remaining eight provinces of the Dominion. We can

hardly exaggerate the importance of this distinctive settlement pattern in the development of the Japanese in this country. Twenty-two or -three thousand people in a nation of eleven million seems an almost insignificantly small number. There is little reason to doubt that the twenty-odd thousand Japanese would be almost unnoticeable were it not for the fact that over 95 per cent of them have concentrated in a few populous sections of one province.

The concentrated nature of Japanese settlement is so conspicuous a feature of their distribution in British Columbia that critics have seized on it as peculiar to them and as evidence of a sinister central control of their activities in the Province.

With the Japanese, penetration appeared to be ordered and controlled as though from some central source. It has all the earmarks of the efficiency which characterizes Japanese expansion everywhere. It is orderly, consistent and continuous, planned in a manner possible only with a homogeneous, aggressive, organized and imperially-minded people. Prominent Japanese here have denied that their Government is behind this movement and they can truthfully do so, because observers of the entire political situation on the Pacific know that the big interests that stand behind the Japanese army and support the throne are more powerful than the Japanese Government itself. The functioning of this dual system of government has only recently been understood by nations that can only think in terms of democracy. To state that Japanese diplomacy is beginning to be understood by no means indicates that it is applauded. An orderly advance is now in progress, carrying a Japanese population along the Fraser Valley on both sides of the river and into the one-time socially exclusive Okanagan.⁵

It would be difficult to substantiate such a serious charge. Expansion can be accounted for on less sinister grounds. Segregation of immigrants is certainly not peculiar to the Japanese, but is a rule of immigrant settlement demonstrated in every province

⁵C. E. Hope and W. K. Earle, "The Oriental Threat" (*Maclean's Magazine*, May 1, 1933, p. 54).

JAPANESE POPULATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BY
CENSUS DIVISIONS
1931

QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS

FRASER RIVER

SKEENA RIVER

LEGEND

- AGRICULTURAL CENTRES
- ▲ FISHING
- ◆ LUMBERING
- MINING

MAP 1

of the Dominion. Where colour is added to culture as a distinguishing characteristic of the newcomer, it provides a further incentive for the members of the group to segregate and to act as a unit. Again, group solidarity and concerted action are reinforced in the case of the Japanese by old-time familiarity with a feudal type of organization in their native land. The obvious clannishness of the Japanese and their capacity for corporate action are also results of the criticism and discrimination to which they have been subjected.

II. POPULATION GROWTH OF THE GROUP

All discussions of the Orientals in British Columbia sooner or later concentrate on the alarming growth of their population. A university professor who studies the Orientals sympathetically entitles one of his articles: "More than a Tenth of B.C. is Asiatic—And There's the Problem!"⁶ More recently a writer on "The Oriental Wants to Vote", subtitles it, "Asiatic Canadians, with a high birth rate, are creating a new problem for British Columbia", and opens with the statement: "More than six hundred brown-skinned babies are opening their little black eyes for the first time in British Columbia every year."⁷ The Honorary Secretary of the White Canada Association states that his organization "was formed . . . to try and stem the tide of Orientalism which is gradually over-running the whole Province".⁸ The members of the provincial Assembly also take the increase of population as their point of departure in framing a

⁶H. F. Angus, "More than a Tenth of British Columbia is Asiatic" (*Vancouver Province*, Sept. 1, 1934).

⁷C. L. Shaw, "The Oriental Wants to Vote" (*Macleans Magazine*, April 1, 1937).

⁸C. E. Hope, "Canada's Oriental Province" (*Country Guide*, Nov., 1930, p. 68).

resolution: "Whereas there were in B.C., according to the last Dominion Census 23,532 Chinese and 15,006 Japanese; and whereas statistics show that there is a very large natural increase of Orientals in B.C., multiplying each succeeding year to an alarming extent . . ."; *etc.*⁹

The critics are unanimous in distinguishing between the Chinese and the Japanese, and in pointing to the latter as the real menace in population expansion. The White Canada Association, formed to stem the rising tide of Orientalism, turns out to be a means of combatting the prolific Japanese: "The increase by births in the case of the Chinese is small . . . but the increase by births among the Japanese is extremely large. . . . It is easily four times that of the Whites."¹⁰ Even the governmental resolution makes the distinction:

Since the last Census [1921] the natural increase of Chinese in the Province has practically been at a standstill, an aggregate surplus of 62 births in three years being offset by an aggregate surplus of 41 deaths in the other two years. It is vastly different in the case of the Japanese. In the same period of time the aggregate increase in the Japanese population of the Province through the excess of births over deaths has exceeded that through immigration. In each year the births have greatly outnumbered the arrivals from Japan, in 1925 the proportion being 15 births to every 8 arrivals by sea. The birth-rate of the Japanese in B.C. is 40 per 1,000 of the population of that race. The birth-rate of the whole population, excluding Indians, keeps about 18 per 1,000, while the rate of natural increase per 1,000 is between 9 and 10.¹¹

Another writer gives this reason for the high Japanese birth-rate and the population prospect: "There is a Japanese woman for every Japanese man who wants one and has the wherewithal. As a result there is a

⁹*Report on Oriental Activities within the Province of British Columbia* (Victoria, 1927).

¹⁰Hope, "Canada's Oriental Province", p. 68.

¹¹*Report on Oriental Activities.*

continuous peaceful penetration, by reason of which the Japanese are breeding themselves into possession of a rich share of the business of British Columbia."¹²

These predictions are based generally on an intensive though somewhat fragmentary study of the two major factors contributing to population growth of the group, namely immigration and natural increase. The natural increase of the Japanese, more frequently and loosely referred to as the "birth-rate", is the factor to which most attention is directed. From 1921 to 1933 the Japanese death-rate is roughly equal to that of the death-rate for all groups, its birth-rate is from two to four times the birth-rate of all groups in the Province, and the rate of natural increase was from three and one-half to ten times the rate of natural increase for the Province during the period (see table, p. 30). It would seem, then, that the alarm might be justified so far, at least, as the population increase during the twenties is concerned.

On the other hand, these statistics have their limitations, for the Province did not begin to keep separate birth statistics for the Japanese until 1914, and separate death statistics until 1921. As a result, vital statistics on the group are only for a short period and do not give a clear perspective. Moreover, the statistics which are available have a rather serious defect, since in British Columbia "the registration of births and deaths do not purport to be an actual review of the number of births and deaths. British Columbia has a large area and, in parts, isolated communities. Consequently, although there are seventy-five collectors of vital statistics, they do not collect all returns, and it is evident from delayed registrations received that all births and deaths are

¹²Tom MacInnes, *Oriental Occupation of British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1927), p. 19.

not registered—the delayed birth registrations averaging from 1,500 to 2,000 (out of an average of approximately 10,000 births annually).’’¹³ The registrations in a given year cannot, therefore, be regarded as an accurate measure of actual births and deaths in that year.

Nevertheless the statistics are an approximate measure of the number of individuals added to the population for the period in question by the excess of births over deaths. The data, then, indicate only what there was every reason to expect in an immigrant group like the Japanese. Almost as many women arrived as men, and they enabled the majority of the latter to establish homes of their own. The women were young and of child-bearing age when they came and their husbands were virile men entering the prime of life. Our survey indicates that the average age of the women at the time of their arrival was 25.4 years, and the average age of their husbands 31.8 years. The potential, child-producing efficiency of this group was, therefore, very high as compared with the rest of the population. An unusually high birth-rate was a result of its peculiar age and sex composition. These statistics are also limited to the “crude” birth-rate, that is the number of births per 1,000 of the population, and they ignore the differences in age and sex within the two population groups. A birth-rate based on all individuals between 15 and 45 years of age would be a more adequate measure of comparative fertility of the two groups and would probably present the Japanese in a fairer comparison in this respect.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that an aggregate of 9,814 Japanese was added to the population of British Columbia in the ten-year period 1921-31 by the excess of births over deaths. In addition, another

¹³*British Columbia Manual of Provincial Information.*

3,847 entered the Province as immigrants in the same period, making a total addition to the Japanese population in British Columbia of 13,661 for the decade. No wonder the people of the Province were alarmed! But there is an anomaly in the situation. According to the Dominion Census the actual increase for the period was only 7,199, an astonishing difference. The discrepancy may be explained by examining the statistics for the whole period of Japanese immigration. At least 29,603 Japanese immigrants entered Canada up to 1931, consisting of 24,418 officially recorded as entering the Dominion between 1904 and 1931, an estimated 4,738 already here and recorded in the Census of 1901, and an estimated 447 who entered during the years 1901 to 1904. Yet according to the Dominion Census only 12,261 of these immigrants, or Japanese born in Japan, were in this country in 1931. Where were the remaining 17,342? The missing immigrants must either have died here or returned to Japan. A Japanese estimate of first generation deaths to 1931 is 4,500¹⁴ although officially registered deaths of both generations for 1921-31 totalled only 1,523, and the average of the first generation deaths for each of the three decades between 1891 and 1921 was certainly not in excess of 1,000. Assuming that 4,500 of the immigrants died, 12,842 of the missing 17,342 must have returned to their native land. This is not an unreasonable conclusion. In the early years the immigration movement was a seasonal migration and many of the immigrants returned to Japan as a matter of course. In later years discriminatory policies introduced in different industries drove the Japanese out of these and back to

¹⁴R. Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (a thesis submitted to the Department of Economics of the University of British Columbia, 1935), p. 83.

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¹⁴R. Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (a thesis submitted to the Department of Economics of the University of British Columbia, 1935), p. 83.

with similar age groups in the population of Canada. The percentage¹⁵ of single second generation Japanese males in every age group between 15 and 34 is higher than the percentage of single males in the Dominion, as is also the percentage of second generation females between 15 and 24. The higher percentage of married second generation Japanese females between 25 and 34, on the other hand, may be attributed to the fact that many were old enough to become the wives of first generation males for whom there were not enough first generation women. The exception of the females in the older age groups to the general rule does not invalidate the conclusion that the second generation as a whole is slow to marry, and that it does not immediately replace the first generation as a reproducing group.

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF SECOND GENERATION JAPANESE AND
CANADIANS BETWEEN 15 AND 34

Age	Japanese			Canadians		
	Population	Percentage single		Population	Percentage single	
		M.	F.		M.	F.
15-9	1,759	100.0	98.7	1,039,591	99.6	94.9
20-4	1,061	97.8	66.8	911,185	85.5	63.1
25-9	350	73.7	21.5	786,281	52.1	32.4
30-4	67	48.8	8.3	708,836	29.9	18.7

The failure of the second generation Japanese to marry as early as other Canadians after reaching maturity is significant not only because it means a temporary decline in the birth-rate of the Japanese but also because it indicates that even when the second generation marries, its birth-rate is not likely to approach the high birth-rate of the Japanese in the past. The second generation have been reluctant to

¹⁵Canadian Japanese Association, *Survey of the Second Generation of Japanese in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1935), pp. 30-1.

marry, not only because they are unwilling to sacrifice a rising standard of living, as is the case with their White-Canadian contemporaries, but also because their economic future is so uncertain. There is no reason to believe that these factors which are instrumental in retarding marriage will not also be influential in preventing the birth of children.

The evidence obtained in our survey indicates that the birth-rate of the Japanese in British Columbia is responding to changing living conditions in the same manner as have the birth-rates of other population groups. Urban influences uniformly tend to lower the birth-rates of population groups. The size of the Japanese families in British Columbia, according to our survey, is lowest in Vancouver, which had an average of 2.47 children, and highest in the farming districts, such as the Okanagan Valley with an average of 3.97 children, and the Fraser Valley with an average of 4.11 children per family. That the size of the Japanese family, and, therefore, the birth-rate of the group, varies in the same way in which it has varied in the White section of the population, may be regarded as further evidence of the probable continuous decline of the Japanese birth-rate in British Columbia. Under the circumstances, changes in the Japanese population during this decade should demonstrate beyond question that the Province has no more to fear from the Japanese in so far as increase of population is concerned.

III. ECONOMIC EXPANSION OF THE JAPANESE

The concentration of the Japanese in Vancouver and in the satellite towns and villages which comprise its hinterland, along with the rapid growth of their population in these centres, have been material factors

in contributing to the stormy career of the Japanese in British Columbia. Economic expansion of the group which saw them invade industry after industry and become a well-organized, efficiently functioning unit in the economic life of the Province increased their difficulties. The segregated nature of Japanese settlement made them conspicuous and aroused the suspicions of the Whites, and their rapid population growth raised grave forebodings as to the future. The economic expansion of the Japanese was even more significant because it extended the range of their contacts and enlarged the area of possible conflict with the White Canadians. Work relations provided the only point of contact which the great majority of the immigrants had with the White population, and as they expanded economically their contacts increased. These were characterized of necessity by friction and conflict owing to the competitive nature of the relations of the two racial groups. Hence the importance of the economic factor in affecting the ultimate outcome of Japanese settlement in this country.

The outstanding point to note is that in four decades the Japanese immigrants covered by the survey extended the range of their economic activities from six occupations in 1893 to over sixty by the end of the period. During the early years they were concentrated in industries involving heavy labour and a moderate amount of skill, such as lumbering, fishing, mining, railroading, and domestic service. They gradually moved out of these occupations and industries through which they entered the economic life of the Province, into farming on the one hand, and occupations of a commercial and service nature on the other, such as clerks, proprietors of stores, restaurants, and rooming houses, and business and the

professions. The shift from the major industries to the commercial occupations occurred particularly in the twenties when expansion in fishing, lumbering, mining, and railroading came to an end and a decline set in, partly because of the agitation and discrimination against the Japanese in these industries, but also because the Japanese like other people were seeking better living conditions and a higher social status in the community, and commercial activities seemed to promise these.

The foregoing statement refers only to the first generation Japanese and does not indicate sufficiently the amazing degree to which the members of this small group have entered every industry and most of the occupations in the Province. The Dominion Census of 1931 continues the story.¹⁶ It shows that the Japanese are employed in every one of thirty main occupational classes. They are represented in varying degrees in 102 of the 107 sub-occupations listed under the major occupations. The major occupational groups in which they appear most prominently follow in order of their importance: agriculture, fishing, personal, logging, commerce, transportation and communication, wood products, and building and construction. Approximately 50 per cent of all the gainfully employed male and female Japanese in British Columbia, or 3,907 of the total of 7,852, were in: agriculture, fishing, logging and wood products, and mining.

It is difficult for those remote from the scene of their activities to sense the almost intrusive pervasiveness of the Japanese. Their expansion must be seen through the eyes of persons living in the Province to be appreciated by those whose contacts are of a secondary nature. The following excerpts from the

¹⁶Bulletin no. XLI. See *infra*, pp. 239-45.

articles of two or three Whites show the impression which their progress has made on some of the more articulate critics of the group.

The Japanese produce most of the strawberries, and about half of the raspberries [of the Province]. . . . The Japanese are getting a strong foothold in the Okanagan and have made a fresh start both there and in the Lower Fraser Valley in dairying. . . . The Japanese trade licences in White districts of Vancouver increased 30 per cent in two years. . . . The situation is steadily growing worse, but it is when one looks into the future that its true seriousness is most apparent.¹⁷

The intellectual young Japanese and Chinese who are born and bred here, and educated by us, will control the mercantile life of Vancouver as much as the Jews control the mercantile life of New York today.¹⁸

¹⁷Hope, "British Columbia's Oriental Problem", Brief, 1931.

¹⁸MacInnes, *Oriental Occupation of British Columbia*, p. 51.

APPENDIX

TABLE I

POPULATION INCREASE OF JAPAN AND OTHER WORLD POWERS
IN LAST FIFTY YEARS

(in millions)

Countries	Actual number in population				Increase in last 50 years	
	1880	1910	1920	1930	No.	Per cent
Japan (proper) . .	36.6	49.2	56.0	64.4	27.8	76
United States . . .	50.2	92.0	105.7	122.8	72.6	145
United Kingdom .	34.9	42.1†	44.0†	46.0†	11.1	32
France	37.7*	39.7*	39.2	41.8	4.1	11
Germany	45.2*	64.9*	59.9	66.0	20.8	46
Italy	28.5*	34.7*	38.7	41.1	12.2	44
Russia	89.7*	130.8*	....	161.0‡	71.3	80
Canada	4.3	7.2	8.8	10.4	6.1	141
Brazil	10.0§	23.4	30.6	40.3	30.3	30
Australia	2.3	4.5	5.4	6.6	4.3	32

*Populations within borders before the Great War.

†Exclusive of Irish Free State.

‡1931.

§1870.

SOURCE: T. Yano, and K. Shirasaki, *Nippon, a Charted Survey of Japan* (Tokyo, 1936), p. 14.

TABLE II

RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND INCREASE IN JAPAN PROPER
(1874-1933) BY FIVE YEAR PERIODS

Years	Rates per 1,000 population		
	Births	Deaths	Increase
1874-8.....	25.3	18.4	6.9
1879-83.....	25.2	18.3	6.9
1884-8.....	27.4	20.9	6.5
1889-93.....	28.6	21.2	7.5
1894-8.....	30.2	20.5	9.7
1899-1903.....	32.2	20.5	11.7
1904-8.....	31.2	20.5	10.7
1909-13.....	33.7	20.5	13.4
1914-18.....	32.6	22.0	10.6
1919-23.....	34.4	23.2	11.2
1924-8.....	34.3	20.1	14.2
1929-33.....	32.2	18.5	13.9

SOURCE: Yano and Shirasaki, *Nippon, a Charted Survey of Japan*.

TABLE III

EMIGRANTS FROM JAPAN BY DESTINATION, 1885-1924

Destination	Number			Per cent		
	1885-1907	1908-24	1885-1924	1885-1907	1908-24	1885-1924
Asiatic Russia..	59,273	243,673	302,946	10.9	37.9	25.6
Hawaii.....	178,927	59,831	238,758	33.1	9.3	20.2
United States..	72,545	123,998	196,543	13.5	19.2	16.6
China.....	58,388	46,870	105,258	10.8	7.3	8.9
Canada.....	10,513	19,278	29,791	2.0	3.0	2.5
Brazil.....	34	25,913	25,947		4.0	2.2
Philippines....	2,175	19,148	21,323	0.4	3.0	1.8
Peru.....	1,108	19,876	20,984	0.2	3.1	1.8
Korea.....	72,027		[72,027]	13.3		[6.1]
Australia.....	7,540		[7,540]	1.5		[0.6]
Other countries.	77,161	84,667	161,828	14.3	13.2	13.7
TOTAL.....	539,691	643,254	1,182,945	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Compiled by Y. Ichihashi, for *International Migrations*, vol. II (National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1931), p. 621.

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF JAPANESE RESIDENTS ABROAD IN 1934

Countries	Numbers (in thousands)
Congo (Mandated Territory).....	39.9
Kwantung Province.....	145.6
Manchukuo.....	243.9
China.....	56.0
British Malaya*.....	5.6
Dutch East Indies.....	6.5
Philippines†.....	20.5
United States.....	146.7
Hawaiian Islands.....	150.8
Canada.....	21.0
Mexico.....	5.3
Brazil.....	173.5
Argentina.....	5.5
Peru.....	21.1
Australia‡.....	2.9
European countries.....	3.0
Others.....	....
TOTAL.....	1,047.8

*Includes British Borneo.

†Includes Guam Island.

‡Includes New Zealand and other Oceanic Islands.

SOURCE: Department of Foreign Affairs, Japan. Incorporated in Yano and Shirasaki, *Nippon, a Charted Survey of Japan*, p. 394.

CHAPTER III

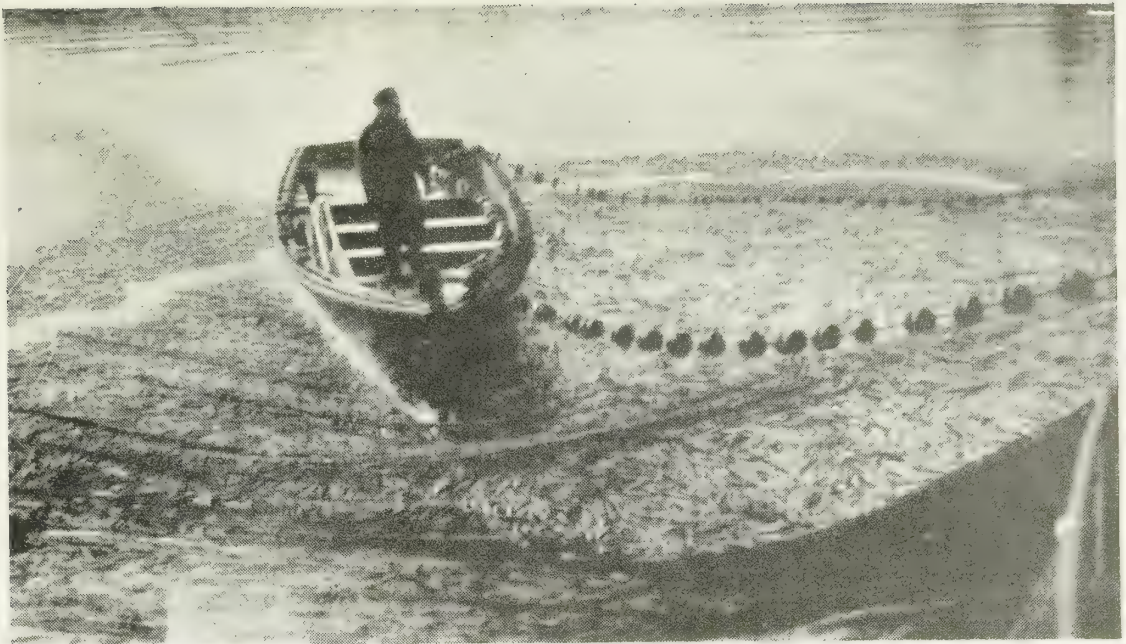
JAPANESE IN THE PRIMARY INDUSTRIES

THE Japanese entered the economic life of the Province for the most part as unskilled labourers in the more important basic industries. Ignorance of the language and customs of the country, and inadequate technical training, precluded their participation in tasks of a more complex nature. In the two decades which followed the arrival of the first immigrants, they established themselves in considerable numbers in fishing, lumbering, mining, and railroading. Later, their struggle for status, and the discrimination to which it gave rise, were instrumental in forcing them out of these industries into new fields, particularly that of agriculture, the only primary industry into which they did not go in significant numbers in the early years of settlement. They also entered occupations of a commercial nature in the larger urban centres. The progress of the Japanese in the primary industries, especially in those industries in which their numbers were sufficient to attract the attention of the Whites, indicates not only progress in their improved standard of living but also the increasing antagonism of the Whites and the obstacles which the Japanese have overcome as a racial group in attempting to better themselves. The most frequent and probably the most important contacts of these people with the White section of the community occur under the trying circumstances associated with their occupational activities.

I. FISHING

The Japanese have been in the fishing industry from the beginning of settlement. Japanese fishermen were located in Steveston, a village near the mouth of the Fraser River, in 1885. Word of their success soon reached the homeland, and Steveston became a regular Mecca. It is estimated that by 1899 the village had a population of approximately two thousand, consisting almost entirely of male Japanese. Resident in Steveston, they migrated, however, during the fishing season up the coast of the mainland, eventually reaching the northernmost fishing grounds, on the Nass and Skeena Rivers. Though seasonal migrants at first, they gradually moved to villages less remote from their fishing grounds, and Japanese colonies were established in this way in the northern part of the Province. Later they settled in the fishing villages on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and were eventually to be found on all the important fishing areas of the Canadian Pacific Coast.

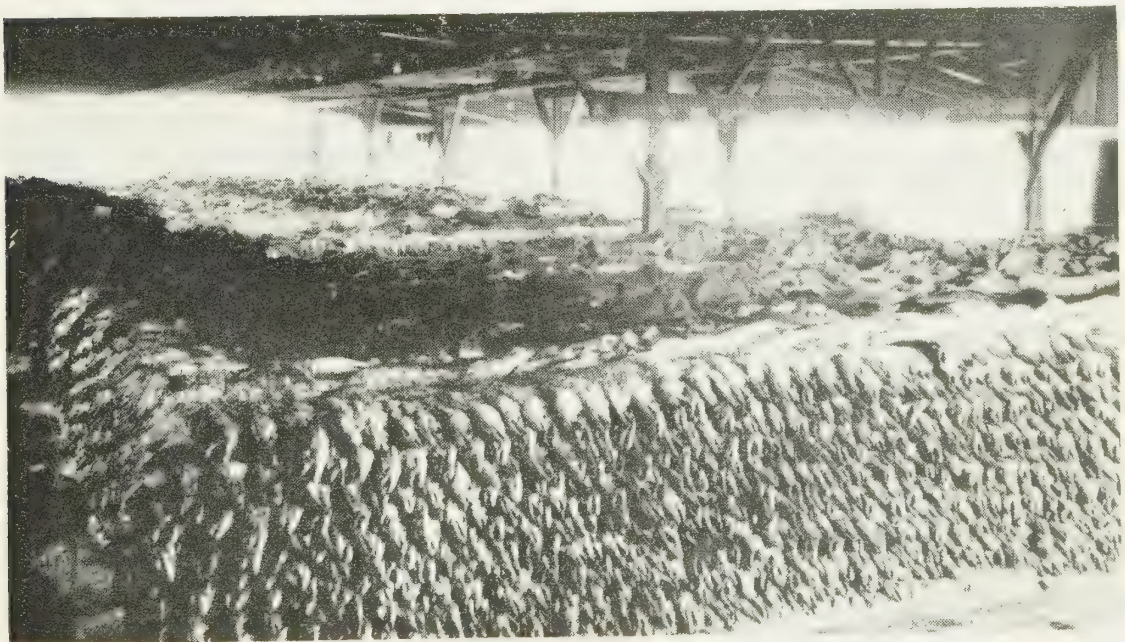
The Japanese early demonstrated their ability to compete with the Whites and Indians, and the fishing industry has been pre-eminently the scene of an acute, though often an unconscious, struggle for supremacy between the different groups. In 1896, 452 fishing licences were issued to the Japanese, and in 1901, 1,958 out of the total of 4,722. In addition to these licences given directly, 1,090 licences were issued to the canneries in 1900 and 1901, of which a considerable number must have been given to the Japanese because the canneries were recruiting from among the Japanese at the time. By 1901 they held well over 2,000 fishing licences. With two men to a boat or a licence, it was estimated by the Royal Commission that over four thousand Japanese were engaged in the fishing



Taking in the net.



A fishing boat.



In the cannery.

industry.¹ The number remained constant for the next four or five years because the influx of Japanese immigrants was negligible, but after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and the arrival of more Japanese immigrants, increased agitation demanding their elimination began again and lasted until the beginning of the Great War. The demands for fish as food in the following years coupled with the scarcity of White labour paved the way for a further increase of Japanese, though this did not occur without serious complaints on the part of the White fishermen.

The peak of Japanese employment was reached in 1919 when they received 3,267 licences, nearly one-half the total issued in that year. The Japanese had become the more efficient half of an industry which "during the year 1919 [in British Columbia] produced fishery products of a total value of \$25,301,607", representing 44.7 per cent of the total production for the Dominion.² With the agitation growing against the Japanese in other industries, complaints were made with increasing frequency that they threatened to drive the Whites and Indians out of the fishing industry also. As a result, in 1920 and 1921, the Dominion Department of Fisheries directed the Vancouver fishery commissioners to limit the number of licences to the Japanese to that issued in 1919. In 1922 the Department reduced the salmon trolling licences to the Japanese by 33 per cent. In the same year, by resolution of the House of Commons, the Duff Commission was appointed by the Dominion Government to investigate fishery conditions in British Columbia. It reported "that the number of Whites

¹*Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, 1902, p. 390.

²Fisheries Commissioner's Report, British Columbia, 1920, p. S5.

and Indians holding licences is not in any way commensurate with the number of Orientals'', meaning Japanese, and advocated a further reduction of licences to make the distribution more equitable.³ In 1923 licences issued to the Japanese declined 11 per cent and in 1924 there was a further reduction.

In 1926, fearing that they might be driven out of the industry, the Japanese⁴ organized the Amalgamated Association of Japanese Fishermen and took their case to the courts. On May 1, 1928, the Supreme Court of Canada delivered judgment in their favour. The Dominion Government appealed the case to the Privy Council and in October, 1929, it was dismissed on the grounds that the federal minister did not have the discriminatory power to withhold the licence from a duly naturalized Canadian citizen. In order to achieve its purpose, the Dominion Government passed an Order-in-Council giving to the Minister of Fisheries the necessary powers to grant or withhold licences. While the question was before the courts, the Government discontinued its policy of reductions. When the Department of Marine and Fisheries announced its intention of resuming the policy in 1930, it received petitions not only from the Japanese but also from White fishermen, canners, and neutral elements in British Columbia, who appeared to think that the policy had achieved its purpose and that it would be both unfair and unwise to continue it. The Department acceded to their requests, and since that date the status of the Japanese in the fishing industry has remained unchanged (see table III, p. 251).

It is difficult to appraise the actual results of the policy. Its effects on the industry itself show that

³Cheng Tien-Fang, *Oriental Immigration in Canada* (Shanghai 1931), pp. 171-5.

⁴Hozumi Yonemura, "Japanese Fishermen in British Columbia and British Fair Play" (*Canadian Forum*, July, 1930, p. 357).

there has been a reduction of approximately 28 per cent in the number of licences issued to the Japanese between 1922 and 1933, and an increase of 118 per cent in the number issued to Indian and White fishermen during the same period. It is doubtful, however, if the number of Japanese driven from the industry has been as large as the reduction of licences would indicate, because many who formerly had licences are alleged to have gone into branches of the industry for which a licence is not required, such as members of a boat crew or as employees in the canneries. It is certain that one result of the policy was to drive many Japanese out of the fishing industry, and there is little doubt that many of these returned to Japan. The majority probably remained in Canada and found their way into other occupations. Critics of the reduction policy have claimed from the beginning that its primary result would be to transfer the Japanese to other industries, inflicting unnecessary hardship on them without eliminating them to any extent as competitors in the economic activities of the Province. The evidence available shows that the proportion of Japanese appeared to increase in other occupations in just those years that it declined in fishing.

The Japanese are still to be found in considerable numbers in every important fishing area on the North Pacific Coast. Of these there are three principal divisions. District Number One runs from the international boundary on the south to Cape Caution near the northern end of Vancouver Island, including in its territory the famous salmon fishing grounds at the mouth of the Fraser River. Steveston remains the most important Japanese fishing community in this district, as well as the largest Japanese settlement outside of Vancouver city. Here, the regular fishing season lasts about seven months, from the middle of

April to the middle of November, though cod and smelt are caught by a few fishermen during the winter months. District Number Two includes the fishing grounds between Cape Caution and the northern boundary of the Province. The chief centres of Japanese settlement in this area are Skeena River with a Japanese population of about 600, Nass River with 78, Dean Channel, Bella Coola, and Kingquist with 28, and Fitzhugh Sound, Rivers Inlet, and Smith's Inlet with a few each.⁵ Salmon gill-net fishing predominates here as in District Number One though the halibut fishery, too, is important. The salmon fishing lasts from the middle of April to the middle of September, a period of about five months. District Number Three includes both the east and west coasts of Vancouver Island. On the west coast the Japanese fish for cod and salmon out of Ucluelet, Clayoquot, and Tofino. On the east coast, Victoria and Nanaimo are the centres of the herring fisheries, a branch which the Japanese claim credit for developing.⁶ The fishing season occupies seven months here, from the middle of February to the end of September.

II. LUMBERING

Lumbering and fishing have been closely allied in the economy of the Japanese in British Columbia. Fishing is a seasonal occupation, and although many immigrants returned to Japan during the off season, others found their way into different branches of the lumber industry in British Columbia. The Chinese were already in the industry in considerable numbers.

⁵Records of the Japanese Consulate, Vancouver, 1934.

⁶Other branches of the industry also profited: "Until within the last four years these [dog salmon] have not been considered of any value. Now they are captured in great numbers by the Japanese who dry salt them for export to the Orient" (E. Gosnell, *British Columbia Year Book*, 1903).

The lumber industry not only permitted seasonal employment for the unemployed fishermen but also enabled the latter to work in areas in the approximate neighbourhood of the chief fishing grounds both along the coast of the mainland and in different parts of Vancouver Island. Among the more important communities from which the Japanese have entered the lumber industry are Vancouver, New Westminster, Fraser Mills, and Mission City on the lower mainland in the Fraser Valley region; Woodfibre and Ocean Falls farther north; and Port Alice, Alberni, Royston, Fanny Bay, and Courtney on Vancouver Island.

The Japanese moved into the lumber industry in significant numbers only in the late nineties, but by 1900 they were in all branches of the industry in sufficient proportions to challenge the attention of White labourers. Over 80,000,000 feet were being exported annually from the mills in British Columbia of which three mills exported 97 per cent. Of the 968 employees in these mills, 219 or 22.6 per cent were Japanese. In addition, there were 251 Japanese of a total of 1,516 in the Local and Eastern Trade Division, and 364 out of a total of 992 in the shingle industry. The Royal Commission, at that time investigating the activities of the Japanese in the Province, stated that "The Japanese are employed in coast mills in the proportion of one to four".⁷ They were rapidly displacing the Chinese by working for a slightly smaller wage amounting on the average to about one dollar per day; this, in spite of the fact that the Chinese had arrived earlier and had become established in the industry by the time the Japanese began to come to this country.

From 1902 to 1905 the number of Japanese en-

⁷*Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, p. 394.

gaged in lumbering remained at about the same level, but from 1905 to 1908 the total increased rapidly as a result of increased Japanese immigration. Agitation developed against the Japanese in lumbering as it did in other important industries, and till the outbreak of the Great War every endeavour was made to drive them out of the industry. Operators on provincial lands were threatened with the loss of their licences if they employed the Japanese, and Japanese operators, of whom there were a considerable number, were unable to retain their licences or to get new ones. The war once again helped the Japanese: first, by increasing the demand for lumber, second, by creating a shortage of labour owing to the enlistment of the Whites, and third, because it made for a natural lessening of ill will towards the Oriental ally of Great Britain. As a result, many Japanese entered the industry during the years of the war. In 1918, when the Department of Labour of British Columbia took its first census of the industry covering most of the firms in the Province, 4,629 of the 12,060 engaged in the lumber industries (logging, logging railways, lumbering, planing mills, sawmills, and shingle mills) were Orientals, and 1,565 or approximately 13 per cent of all the workers were Japanese.⁸

After the conclusion of the war when efforts were being made to find employment for the returning soldiers, the Japanese in lumbering like their compatriots in fishing and other industries were the object of several protests. As a result, except for a temporary rise during the depression of 1921, the percentage of Japanese in the industry, though not the actual numbers, shows a definite decline for the six years from 1918 to 1923 from 12.98 per cent to 8.94 per cent,

⁸*Report of the British Columbia Department of Labour, 1919.*

during which time the White percentage of the total increased from 58 per cent to 70.84 per cent. The Minimum Wage Law passed by the Legislature of British Columbia in 1925 was designed to restrict further all Oriental employment in the lumber industries.

At the time of the Order coming into effect, probably more than half of the lumber workers receiving less than 40 cents an hour were Orientals, with 20.46 per cent of the workers Orientals. Careful inquiry showed that, while there had been no restriction upon an employer as to the nationality of his workers or the rates of pay they were to receive, the White Worker did, in fact, command about a 25 per cent higher rate of pay than the Oriental worker following the same occupation. There was common testimony that the greater efficiency of the White worker entitled him to this higher rate. It seemed reasonable to expect that, if an employer found himself obliged to pay his Oriental workers 40 cents an hour, he would be willing to pay his White workers more, or, alternatively, that a large additional number of White workers would be introduced into the industry.⁹

Assuming that a minimum wage of 40 cents would encourage employers to exclude Orientals and employ Whites, the minimum wage for the industry was set at 40 cents, or 15 cents more than the majority of the Orientals were getting. Many employers objected that the new regulation deprived them of a cheap labour supply, and as a result of their protests the original ruling of the Minimum Wage Law was modified so that about 25 per cent of the workers in the industry might get the previous wage of 25 cents per hour, and this 25 per cent might include Orientals.

An investigation was made by the Department of Labour of 31 of the principal sawmills on the Pacific Coast which showed that the law was achieving its purpose: "in 1925, 55.20 per cent were White employees and 44.80 per cent were Orientals; while in

⁹*Ibid.*, 1927, p. F43.

November, 1926, there were 65.70 per cent White employees and 34.30 per cent Orientals. 1,090 White employees had been added and 468 Orientals eliminated."¹⁰ In 1928 the Japanese proportion of the total number of employees had dropped to 6.42 per cent from 8.94 in 1923 (or from 12.98 per cent in 1918), while the White proportion of all workers throughout the industry had increased from 70.84 per cent in 1923 to 81.86 per cent of the total in 1928. The Dominion Census of 1931 records only 579 Japanese lumbermen indicating a further serious decline.

As in the fishing industry, many of the Japanese were driven out of lumbering, and some of these returned to Japan. But the majority went into commercial enterprises in the cities, or into other basic industries in the non-urban areas of the Province. In the twenties the Japanese reached an impasse in lumbering as they did also in fishing, and as a result they expanded rapidly in farming and in commercial activities. A considered policy of continuous restrictions in lumbering drove many of the Japanese into other occupations and industries.

The Japanese in the lumber industry may be divided into two groups: the first comprises the great majority of the total who work as wage-earners in the city of Vancouver or in the company towns on the mainland and on Vancouver Island; the second consists of a small but important group of approximately fourteen operators in the logging branch of the industry. It is indicative of the enterprise of the Japanese immigrants that out of a population so small, and out of the segment of it associated with the lumber industry, there should have emerged so many operators in this field, and this, in spite of opposition and discrimination on the part of many Whites. The

¹⁰*Ibid.*

capital investment and annual production of twelve of the fourteen operators for 1933 were as follows.

INVESTMENT AND ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF JAPANESE LOGGING
COMPANIES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA*

Name of company	Capital investment	Annual production
Fanny Bay Logging Co.....	\$ 200,000	\$ 135,500
Deep Bay Logging Co.....	200,000	135,500
Cartwright Bay Logging Co.....	40,000	67,500
Highland Logging Co.....	20,000	35,000
Foolmore " "	10,000	54,000
Stolts " "	4,000	13,000
Taniguchi " "	15,000	40,000
Takahashi " "	500,000	570,000
Maeda " "	6,000	20,000
Uyenaka " "	25,000	60,000
Channel " "	20,000	31,500
Mission " "	8,000	23,000
TOTAL.....	\$1,048,000	\$1,185,000

*Records of the Japanese Consulate, Vancouver.

The income of the average Japanese immigrant in lumbering makes it possible for him to spend more and to attain a higher standard of living than he had at home, and in consequence, to reach a certain degree of assimilation in Canada. This income differs from the income in fishing in certain important respects. In the latter industry the enterprise of the individual, regardless of race, determines within limits the size of the income as it is dependent on the size of the catch. In lumbering, on the other hand, an hourly or daily wage is paid which is more or less uniform for those of his race and generally lower than that of the Whites performing the same work. The income of the Japanese in lumbering is not only below that of the Whites in the same industry but also appears to be considerably less than that of Japanese in the other major

occupations of fishing and farming.¹¹ In two of the three typical lumbering centres of British Columbia covered by the survey, Woodfibre and Fraser Mills, the majority of the Japanese workers were paid 25 cents per hour, \$2.00 an eight hour day, or approximately \$624 per year. In the third centre, Ocean Falls, the wages were somewhat higher averaging about 33 cents per hour. In all three places they were below the wages paid to the White workers doing the same tasks. In Ocean Falls, for example, the Japanese workers were paid an average of 36 cents per hour for the period 1917 to 1934, inclusive, as compared with an estimated average of 42 cents for the White workers throughout the same period.

¹¹The study by Professor W. A. Carrothers shows that the average yearly income of 20 Japanese lumbermen, representing 570 Japanese lumbermen of British Columbia recorded in the Dominion Census of 1931, amounted to \$870. The average incomes of the fishermen and farmers included in the same study were \$1,304 and \$2,091 respectively. The comparatively low income of the lumber group was reflected in a lower standard of living, as indicated by their expenditures. The average expenditures of the lumbermen for the four items covered by the study amounted to \$363, as compared with \$683 by the fishermen and \$823 by the farmers.

MAJOR EXPENDITURES AND INCOME OF 20 JAPANESE LUMBERMEN IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA
1934

	Owners		Lumbermen	
	No. replies	Average yearly amount	No. replies	Average yearly amount
Food.....	3	\$ 393	17	\$247
Shelter.....	3	157	16	12*
Clothing.....	3	260	17	68
Education.....	1	12	10	36
Average expenditures	—	822	—	363
Average income.....	3	1,180	17	870

*Expenditures for shelter are conspicuously small because the lumbermen live in company cabins for which they are required to pay only a nominal rent. Averages based on data obtained by R. Sumida from S. Nagaura, Secretary of the Japanese Workers' Association, Ocean Falls, B.C., 1934.

III. AGRICULTURE

Fishing and lumbering have lost their pre-eminence in recent years and have been superseded by agriculture. One reason for this lies in the backgrounds of the immigrants. Large numbers of them had been farmers in Japan. Of the 307 immigrants covered by the Sumida survey, 173 came from farm homes in Japan and 144 had actually been on the land in their native country. Twenty-two per cent of these went into agriculture immediately on arrival in Canada. Initially, they were faced with handicaps, such as the lack of capital with which to purchase land, and with an ignorance of western agricultural methods. These disabilities compelled them to enter other industries as unskilled labourers, but many remained in such occupations only so long as it was necessary to accumulate capital with which to buy or lease farm lands.¹²

While the background of the immigrant and the fertile soil and inviting climate of British Columbia account in part for the drift of Japanese into agriculture, they were, perhaps, not the most significant factors. In the twenties, agriculture had become, occupationally speaking, the last resort for many Japanese. Agitation and restrictive measures of either a *de facto* or legal nature in the fishing and lumbering and in other industries and occupations expelled and excluded the Japanese from occupations in which the government exercised a certain degree of control, and drove them into agriculture where it was extremely difficult to protect their White competitors.

The invasion of agriculture by the Japanese has

¹²“Every race shows a tendency sooner or later to rise in the adopted country to the position occupied at home, and the more ambitious and capable the race, the stronger is this tendency. It has been very strong among the Japanese immigrants, who have a great respect for agriculture” (H. A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States*, New York, 1915).

been characterized by periods of expansion and recession. The first recruits were from immigrants brought out by Japanese contractors for the railroads in 1905 and the following years. They soon became disillusioned with the seasonal nature of construction work and went into other industries, chiefly agriculture. The second wave came during the war when prices were phenomenally high. This was followed by a temporary lull in the post-war depression of 1921. The third wave was a miniature "back-to-the-land" movement when the Japanese turned to agriculture in the middle twenties as the only major industry and one of the few occupations which were left open to them. In some places, as at Steveston, the transfer from old to new ventures was of an organized nature. Here, a number of the fishermen, deprived of their licences by the government, went into farming, and were assisted in so doing by the more fortunate members of the community. The Steveston Japanese Farmers' Company was organized in 1923 and bought 80 acres of land which it rented to licence-less fishermen on an instalment basis. It then organized a series of classes to teach the fishermen the rudiments of Occidental farming.

The growing importance of the Japanese in agriculture is to be found in the amount of land owned or leased by them for farming purposes. In 1927 the acreage possessed by the Japanese in the organized territories of the Province was estimated at 5,737 acres valued at \$1,003,481, and the acreage leased at 764 acres, assessed at \$43,790 by the Department of Agriculture of British Columbia.¹³ These figures show only farm acreage in organized localities for which figures of an approximate correctness are available.

¹³*Report on Oriental Activities within the Province of British Columbia* (Victoria, 1927), p. 10.



Picking berries on a Japanese farm in the Fraser Valley. The Japanese now dominate the berry-growing industry of British Columbia.



Home of Japanese farmer in the Fraser Valley, B.C.



A Japanese farmer, his son and hired help, picking fruit on a Japanese farm in the Fraser Valley, B.C.

No figures were available for such areas as Kamloops, Kelowna, and Vernon, where a large number of Japanese were farming. In unorganized territory, Japanese owned 3,501 acres of improved land composed mostly of farm acreage valued at \$248,582.¹⁴ The total estimated acreage owned by Japanese in organized and unorganized territory in 1927 amounted to 9,238 acres valued at \$1,252,063. Figures indicating the holdings of the Japanese and the Chinese for 1935 are given on pp. 271-2.

The great majority of the Japanese in agriculture are located in two fertile valleys on the mainland, the Fraser and the Okanagan. The farming area in the Fraser, the more important of the two, extends from Hope to the mouth of the Fraser River, covering an area of approximately 850 square miles and supporting a population of over 75,000. The greater number of these farmers are engaged in mixed farming or soft fruit growing. The Japanese settlements, as parts of White communities, now extend the whole length of the valley on the north side from New Westminster, near the mouth of the river, inland to Mission City, including in addition to the foregoing centres, the villages of Pitt Meadows, Port Hammond, Port Haney, Whonnock, Albion, and Ruskin. Japanese settlement on the south side of the river is practically coterminous with that on the north, extending from Lulu Island at the mouth almost to Abbotsford, and including the villages of Cloverdale, Langley Prairie, Surrey, Port Kells, Aldergrove, Coghlan, and Mount Lehman.

Berry growing or small fruit farming is the chief branch of agriculture in which the Japanese engage in this region and in it they are fast becoming supreme. Prior to 1920 the White growers dominated the berry growing industry of the Province, but since that date

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 12-23.

the positions of the two racial groups have been almost reversed. The number of Oriental or Japanese growers increased 144 per cent in the fifteen years, and the acreage operated by them increased to 45.2 per cent of the total for the Province. According to the acreage statistics for the Fraser Valley, the Japanese operate about 63 per cent of the total. The Japanese cultivate so much more intensively and efficiently than the Whites that it is not difficult to accept the estimate of a Government agricultural inspector that they produce at least 85 per cent of the berries grown in the Fraser Valley (see pp. 269-70).¹⁵

The first Japanese to enter agriculture in the only other agricultural section of the Province, the Okanagan Valley, were farm labourers who went into the valley a few years before the war. The present Japanese population consists of two classes: the first comprising those of moderate means who set up as independent farmers from the beginning, and the second made up of the graduates of the farm labour group and of the unskilled labour groups in other industries who have gone into agriculture on the half-share basis. Under this system the Japanese farmer and the White landowner become partners, the landowner usually providing the house, land, water, fertilizer, seed, plants, and plough, and the farmer the labour. The Japanese population of the valley in 1934 was estimated at about 750, the great majority of these farmed in four centres: Kelowna, Vernon, Okanagan Centre, and West Summerland.

The same comparative absence of stock and the same intensive type of farming is evident in both the Okanagan and the Fraser Valleys and is shown in the small number of acres under cultivation, the average in both valleys never being more than 19.4 or less than

¹⁵L. R. Wilson, Mission City, B.C., summer, 1934.

11.7 acres. Though alike in this respect, farming in the two valleys differs as to crops, the Fraser Valley concentrating almost exclusively on berries, the Okanagan, on vegetables and tree fruits. There is a high percentage of half-share Japanese farmers in the Okanagan Valley and marked variation from centre to centre with reference to crops grown and the economic status of the farmers. The Northern Okanagan, consisting of Kelowna, which has nearly half of the total Japanese population, and Vernon, runs more to vegetables and market gardening, and as a consequence, to more arduous work and lower incomes. The farmers in the South Okanagan, particularly those in West Summerland, are much better off. Nearly all of them possess their own farms and derive a better income from less strenuous work in the production of orchard fruit.

IV. MINING

The Japanese have been prominent in two other major industries: mining and railroad construction. In the early nineties 130 labourers came out from Japan under contract for the Canadian Coal Collieries at Cumberland, Vancouver Island. In 1908 an additional 50 contract labourers were brought out for the same company. The anti-Japanese agitation prevented further importation of contract labour and the arrival of new recruits for the mines. About 150 Japanese miners remained at Cumberland, however, from 1909 to 1921. Between 1921 and 1933 these were gradually eliminated, partly owing to curtailed operations in the mines, but also because provincial mining regulations made it necessary to obtain a miner's licence, the qualifications for which include experience in mining and a knowledge of English.

Some unemployed Japanese miners still remain at Cumberland hoping to get work in the mines, but the majority have moved elsewhere.

The Japanese have had the same experience in the copper mine at Britannia Beach, though their relations with the management and the Whites in the community appear to have been much happier than at Cumberland. The first Japanese, 11 in number, arrived under a "boss" of their own nationality in 1903. This number increased to 340 in 1916. In the last years of the war the Japanese labourers received wages as high as \$3.75 per day.¹⁶ Since the war there has been a gradual reduction, until in 1934 only 16 labourers remained. Treatment of the Japanese seems to have been fair, and the conditions under which the labourers lived have been definitely superior to those at Cumberland. House rent has been low, fuel consisted of driftwood picked up on the beach, so that money usually spent on these necessities has been devoted to the purchase of other things.

V. RAILROADING

The Japanese associated with railroading, were employed in connection with construction work, maintenance of way, yard work, station and hotel service, and in the dining cars. They entered the industry as early as 1899, but the number was negligible until 1907 when the Canadian Pacific Railway contracted with the Japanese Immigration Supply Company to import 1,000 labourers to construct an irrigation system in Alberta at a wage of \$1.45 per day. The anti-Japanese agitation that year caused a partial abandonment of the plan and only 370 were brought

¹⁶Japanese "Boss", Britannia Beach, May, 1934. Courtesy of R. Sumida.

to Canada. Some Japanese immigrants from Hawaii, who arrived at this time, also found their way into railroading. The peak year for the Japanese in this industry was 1907 when they reached an estimated total of 1,284. Since then, except for the years of the war, there has been a gradual but very definite decline and there were not more than 110 employed in all kinds of railroading in 1934.¹⁷ The reduction of Japanese in this industry would appear to be part of the general policy of the Whites in British Columbia to restrict the Japanese area of competition on all sides. "Another matter which was taken up directly by the Minister of Labor was a request to the Railways in the Province that they should agree to hire all the men required for work on section and extra gangs through the Employment Offices, and to refrain from employing the gangs of Asiatics usually hired during the summer months. Through this arrangement more than 2,000 White laborers were sent to employment on railways in British Columbia."¹⁸

¹⁷Estimate of S. Goto, Canadian Japanese Supply Co., Vancouver, 1934, formerly labour contractor for the C.P.R. Courtesy of R. Sumida.

¹⁸*British Columbia Department of Labour Report*, 1923, p. S8.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES¹

STEVESTON FISHERMAN

Many of the Japanese immigrants went into the same type of work in Canada with which they had been associated in Japan. Ehime, before coming to Canada, was the captain of a boat. Almost immediately after his arrival in 1903 he entered the fishing business and has remained in it. He settled down in Steveston, the important fishing village at the mouth of the Fraser River, off which he fished approximately seven months of the year. The remaining months were "off season" and during them he repaired his equipment and cut wood for the winter.

In a period of over thirty years he has accumulated equipment consisting of a gasoline fishing boat and seven nets, representing a total investment of \$1,600. In his best year he made as much as \$3,500 gross income, but during the depression this was reduced to \$1,500. All his fish are sold to one of the large coast canneries. Assisting him in his work are four sons, all of them over twenty, so that the income of \$1,500 divided among the adult members of the family represented inadequate remuneration.

Ehime's wife is one of the few Japanese women who accompanied their husbands to Canada on the initial trip. They were married the year before they came out, and all their children were born in Steveston. Besides the four grown-up sons who assist their father in the fishing, there are two daughters. One of them, the first child born to the couple, was married in 1920 and has lived in Japan since that date. The other girl is the baby of the family and assists her mother in the home. All members of the family have had a public school education except the father who went to a private school in Japan. The married daughter went through High School and University in Japan. Neither father nor mother speak, read, or write English.

The standard of living of the family suffers from dependence on an annual gross income of only \$1,500. They rent a six room house from the cannery for \$50 a year. It boasts of a radio but no other luxuries or conveniences. Approximately \$720, or nearly half of the family income, is spent on food. Clothing is the second important item of expenditure, totalling \$150 per year, a small amount for so many adults. Fuel and light together cost approximately \$84 per year, and about \$50 is spent on education. The

¹The names of Japanese given in these portraits are those of the districts in Japan from which they came.

family spends nothing for insurance or medical services and almost nothing on recreation.

Ehime is one of the few immigrants whose material welfare and social status do not seem to have improved very materially as a result of his migration to Canada. In Japan his father was the proprietor of a liquor store. All the evidence in the record, such as his schooling and the money he brought out with him, suggests that the economic status of the family in Japan was in keeping with the occupations of the father and son. The change of country does not appear to have resulted in very substantial benefits.

In spite of his failure to do better in Canada, his orientation appears to be Canadian. When he came to this country he wrote home at least once a month, but now rarely if ever corresponds with anyone in Japan. He plans to live in Canada permanently and as evidence of his intentions he and all the members of his family have become regular members of the Japanese Christian church in Steveston. This appears to be their only relaxation from work because they state they have "no time" to attend shows or indulge in sports or other leisure time activities.

UCLUELET FISHERMAN

Wakayama is a fisherman who came out from Japan in 1908 at the age of twenty-four. He was one of four children, the son of a fisherman and seems to have learned his trade from his father. After spending twelve years in the public and middle schools of his native village, he worked as a fisherman before coming out to Canada, where he arrived with \$75 in his pocket. He had no friends here but as a fisherman he went at once to the village of Steveston.

As early as 1900 it had a Japanese population of over two thousand. Wakayama soon found friends among his countrymen and he remained for the next twelve years, doing most of his fishing off the mouth of the river and making as much as \$800 a season. Steveston became too popular and as more Japanese arrived to go into fishing, competition cut down the profits. Wakayama left Steveston for newer, less frequented fishing grounds on the west coast of Vancouver Island, taking as his base the village of Ucluelet where he has remained for fourteen years. He had a gross income of \$3,000 in 1926, his best year, and even in 1934 when the fishing industry was feeling the effects of the depression, he made as much as \$1,800 or an income of approximately \$225 per month since the fishing is limited to eight months. The remaining months Wakayama spent repairing his gas boat and net, representing an investment of \$3,000, and cutting wood.

Wakayama married the year before he left Japan but his wife did not come out until he had put in two years fishing and saved enough money to send for her. Three children were born but only two survive: the youngest, a girl of six, and the eldest, a boy of seventeen. Both were born in Canada, both attend the English public school and the Japanese Grammar School, and both speak English and Japanese. Their mother knows only the latter.

The family own the house, a frame structure of five rooms, in which they live. The community is remote from the large centres, but they have a radio with which to keep in touch with the events of the day. The family lives well, spending as much as \$420 per year on food, and \$250 for clothing. They spend nothing for rent, and taxes amount to \$10.50 per year. Expenditures for insurance, the doctor, and recreation in 1933 were respectively, \$85, \$80, and \$72.

Wakayama still writes home but not nearly as often as when he first came to this country. He has been back to Japan once in twenty-six years to see his people but he has no intention of returning there to stay permanently. He is a committee member of the local fishermen's association, attending the meetings of the association once a month. He is not religious but two members of the family attend the United Church now and then. The father takes them all to the theatre in Port Alberni five or six times a year, and for his own recreation indulges in drinking and tobacco.

LUMBERMAN

Miyaga is fifty years old. He came out to Canada from Japan in 1901 by way of Hawaii at the age of seventeen. He had \$500. Two friends were already here to help him. His father was a farmer in Japan, the head of a family of ten children, but in spite of this Miyaga received eleven years of schooling in Japan, going beyond the public school to High school. After leaving school and before coming out to Canada he worked for a time with an older brother.

On his arrival in Canada, Miyaga went to work as a labourer in a sawmill. He continued for twenty-five years and was making as much as \$100 per month. He left at the end of that time for "no special reason", and worked for a year at \$60 per month as labourer on the Canadian Pacific Railway. He didn't like the seasonal nature of the work and went into fishing. The first season he made \$400 and then he lost his licence. He then tried housework for six months but it did not appeal to him and the salary was \$35 a month. He returned to a job as labourer in a sawmill

at which he has continued for six years, averaging \$720 per year in wages.

Miyaga was single when he arrived in Canada. He sent home for a "bride" who came out to him in 1910. The couple has had six children, two of them dying in infancy. Those living are all boys, ranging in age from seven to sixteen years, all going to school except the youngest. The mother is the only member of the family unable to speak English, but the children still speak Japanese so the solidarity of the home is not threatened.

The family appears to be fairly well established. They own ten acres of land in the lower Fraser Valley, and live in a ten room house. They have an auto and radio and maintain a moderate standard of living as compared with other Japanese Canadians. Food averages \$36 a month. The rent is very low at \$9 per month, perhaps because they live in a company house in a small village. Outside of food, taxes are the most costly item, running to \$130 per year. Clothing comes next at \$60, unusually low for a family of six. Education costs only \$15 per year and insurance \$13.50.

Contact persists with the homeland, Miyaga writing to Japan five or six times a year and sending money at odd intervals to his parents. He has never returned to Japan and says he plans to live in Canada permanently. His activities indicate that his interests lie here. He and all the members of his family are Christians and attend the Japanese United Church every week. They go to a Canadian theatre once a week and Miyaga makes frequent trips into Vancouver, especially in the summer to watch the Japanese play baseball in the City League. The family appears to belong to that section of the Japanese community which is content to live here and which thinks of Canada as home.

FRASER VALLEY FARMER

Shigaken is one of the more prosperous Japanese farmers in the Fraser Valley. He was one of the early immigrants, coming out from Japan in 1898 at the age of twenty-three. He had no friends in this country but he had capital to the amount of \$100 and the training and experience acquired in thirteen years of schooling in Japan and during his apprenticeship on his father's farm.

Shigaken obtained work at once in a sawmill near Mission City in the upper part of the Fraser Valley and remained in this position for five years, securing an average cash income of \$27 per month. Lumbering, as for many of his compatriots, was only a stop-gap job, and as soon as he had saved enough he purchased a farm. That was over thirty-one years ago.

He owns thirty-five acres of good farm land. When acquired it was extensively covered by bush, but thirty-two of the thirty-five acres are now cleared. They are cultivated intensively to produce crops of strawberries, raspberries, loganberries, and asparagus, yielding a total income in the best year (1919) of \$7,000. Even in 1934 the income was estimated at \$3,000. Shigaken has farm equipment of an estimated value of \$525. Three members of the family, including himself, work on the farm and in addition, he keeps a hired man throughout the year. During the berry-picking season he hires as many as twenty-eight extra hands.

Shigaken's income is reflected in his standard of living. He has a comfortable seven room farm house, equipped with ice box and washing machine, representing a total investment of over \$2,000. Twelve hundred dollars a year is spent on food, \$350 on clothing, \$87 on taxes, \$80 on insurance. Medical services for 1933 cost \$75 and education \$180. Shigaken is like the majority of his friends in having a telephone and an auto, in subscribing to the Japanese newspapers, and in spending liberally for recreation (at least \$120 in 1933 for the latter).

He married the year before he came out from Japan. His wife did not follow him till four years later bringing with her a boy born in Japan. They have had four children since coming to this country, three girls and a boy. The children are all alive and range in age from nineteen to thirty-five. All except the youngest have received their education in the public and High schools of Japan. One of the children is there at the present time, the only member of the family unable to speak both English and Japanese. One is in Vancouver, and three are in Mission City.

In spite of an ambition to have his children educated in Japan, Shigaken's ties with the homeland have weakened. When he first came out, he claims he wrote "about ten times a year", perhaps because his wife was still in Japan. At the present time he manages to send a letter home once a year. He has been back once, many years ago, on a visit. He has decided "to live in Canada permanently" and conducts his affairs accordingly. He is president of the local Farmer's Association, which he attends once a month, and both he and his wife are regular members of the Japanese United Church in which he is convener of the missionary committee. Recreation consists of a movie once a week, and a trip now and then to Vancouver, about forty miles distant.

FARMER

Fukunaka is sixty-four years old and grandfather to a Canadian-Japanese baby born in British Columbia. He came to Canada in 1904 and has returned to Japan once since that time. He worked in a shingle camp at \$30 a month for six months immediately after his arrival and then went to join a brother in Alaska, who had also left the farm home in Japan. Returning to Canada he joined the Canadian Army serving for six years at \$75 a month. On reduction of the forces he worked as cook for a year at \$80 a month. Losing this job he went back to the lumbering business and worked in a sawmill five years at \$60 a month. He then went to work in a fruit cannery for the same wages. When winter came work was scarce so he paid a visit to his friends and family in Japan. On his return to Canada, he resumed sawmill work, first at \$65 a month, and when the mill closed down, at \$60 a month in another mill where he spent eight years. He finally decided he would become a farmer as his father had been. He has been farming for seven years in a good district. He owns the land, and in his best year has made as much as \$1,500 but in the depression his income was as low as \$1,500. He has cleared ten or forty acres, and raises berries, small fruits, and vegetables. He paid \$3,300 for the farm, \$250 for the equipment, and \$350 for his home of five rooms. He has a horse and 500 chickens.

There are three sons at home working on the farm. In the berry-picking season seven helpers are added. The family consists of five sons, all over thirty years of age, two of whom live in Japan, a married one living with his father, and two brothers. All the boys were born in Japan and educated there. The whole family have had a good educational record in Japanese schools, the mother and father each being at public school, the father also at a private academy. So high a value was set by them on education that almost all the money that was earned was sent over to Japan for the education of their boys. All their remarks about public school, one boy afterwards attending normal school, another technical school, a third a shipbuilding school, and two going as far as the middle school. The youngest son has served in the Japanese army and speaks only Japanese. All the others like their father, read, write, and speak both English and Japanese, the mother now sixty-seven years old, using only Japanese.

This family of five adults manages to live fairly well on a fluctuating income. They have plenty of chickens, eggs, potatoes, asparagus, cabbages, strawberries, and raspberries. The latest

items in the household expenditures are \$145 a year for taxes on house and land, \$50 a year for insurance, and \$100 last year for medical care. Their needs are simple and the climate is moderate. No radio, vacuum-cleaner, or other modern mechanical device is to be found in the home. An occasional visit to the neighbouring theatre and a glass of wine with a pipe of tobacco record the extent of their self-indulgence. The social life of this family includes attendance at the Buddhist Temple where all five worship once a month and where the father is vice-president of the temple. He also attends the monthly meetings of the Japanese Farmers' Association of which he is a member in good standing. Interest in the activities of the local settlement increases and ties with the native land become weaker. While money is still sent occasionally to needy relatives and sons, no visits are now made, and letters which used to be sent twice a month do not average more than one every two months.

The old people admit they would like to go back to Japan and end their days with their sons and friends, but three sons have settled in Canada and have no thought of beginning life over again in another country. The married son is now fathering a third generation and as the latter mature, thoughts of the homeland will recede still further into the background.

A SHARE-CROPPER IN THE OKANAGAN

Okayama came out to Canada in 1912 at the age of twenty. His father in Japan was a farmer and Okayama received all his training on his father's farm. But he could not capitalize on his training immediately after coming to Canada because he knew no English and also knew too little about farming in British Columbia. For the first three years he worked under contract in a shingle camp for the small wage of \$10 a month and his board and lodgings. At the end of his contract he went to work in a logging camp where he received an average of \$100 per month. In spite of the great increase in income, like many of his fellow immigrants, he wanted a place of his own and a measure of independence not to be found working in a gang under the supervision of a Japanese "boss". He did not have sufficient capital to purchase a farm outright nor had he the means of borrowing it, but he had heard of a number of Japanese who had gone to the Okanagan Valley and had become share-crop farmers. Under this system they became partners with the White landowner, the latter providing the house, land, water, fertilizer, seed, plants, and plough, and the Japanese immigrant providing the labour. Okayama engaged in farming on these

terms. Share-crop farming has not been particularly profitable, and in his best year his own income from the produce of the farm amounted to \$1,400. In 1933 he received only \$600 as a result of the depression and the small size of the farm on which he works, which is only eight acres. It is all cleared and every inch of the ground is farmed intensively. The produce in order of financial importance is tomatoes, onions, cucumbers, peppers, and egg plants.

Okayama's sole assistant on the farm is his wife who came out in 1921. Both received the usual public school education in Japan. They have five children living and one dead. All the children were born in Canada, the oldest being twelve years of age. Three of them are receiving their schooling in Japan. The father is the only member of the family who speaks English, and since his contacts with Anglo-Canadians are infrequent, his knowledge of the language is very inadequate.

The education of the children is a serious drain on the limited financial resources of the family, costing \$200 in 1933, or roughly one-third of the total expenditures for the year. The largest single item in the family budget was for food, totalling \$350. It was followed by education and clothing, \$100. Seven dollars and fifty cents for newspapers and \$3.00 for fuel completed the expenditures of the family. Nothing was spent for rent, taxes, light, insurance, recreation, telephone, or doctor. The family lives in a four-room frame house belonging to the farm.

Okayama appears to be typical of those Japanese immigrants who have settled on farms more or less remote from the influence of White Canadians. Engrossed in the struggle for a livelihood, with practically no opportunities to participate in sports or activities of a social nature, their interests lie in the past. They send their children to Japan for their education, support the Japanese Language Schools, and live pretty much to themselves. This is the result of their isolation as much as it is the product of their training in, and affection for, things Japanese. But regardless of its cause, it tends to reinforce their solidarity as a foreign group and to accentuate those characteristics which render them strange and suspicious to the Anglo-Canadians.

CHAPTER IV

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES AND URBAN COLONIES

THE movement of the Japanese out of industries like fishing, lumbering, mining, and railroading, in which they were concentrated in the early years, into commercial activities is reflected in the large and increasing percentage of their population located in the urban centres of the country. Nearly half of the 23,326 Japanese in the Dominion in 1931 were in cities of over 30,000 population.¹ In the role played in the economy of the Japanese Canadians, and as determinants of public opinion throughout the Dominion, the urban Japanese (one-third of the Japanese in Canada) are primarily residents of one community—the city of Vancouver. The significance of this colony is out of all proportion to its size because the Japanese differ so radically from the native population in both their cultural and physiological characteristics. Their concentration in the metropolitan centre provides a setting within which the process of assimilation of the group tends to be more rapid and conspicuous than in the rural settlements.

The Japanese have been in Vancouver since the eighties of the last century but were not recorded in the Dominion Census until 1911 at which date the city had 2,036 of the 8,578 Japanese in British Columbia. They increased to 4,246 in 1921, or over 100 per cent for the decade, as compared with a total population increase for the city of 17 per cent. This increase was due chiefly to the great demand for their

¹Some of these were located in Victoria, Toronto, Calgary, Winnipeg, and Montreal, but their numbers in these centres were relatively unimportant.

services during the war. In 1931, the Japanese population in the city totalled 8,328, a gain of 96 per cent as compared with an increase of 125 per cent for the total population. This was an actual recession from the rate of growth in the previous census period.

The Japanese population of Vancouver shifts materially as a result of seasonal factors. The Vancouver Board of Health estimated a population of 8,429² in 1933 and the Japanese Consulate reported 7,195 permanent Japanese residents in 1934. The unstable nature of the Japanese population is a result of a general exodus in the summer, comprising not only the single males, but often married men and women and their children, going to other parts of British Columbia to work on farms and on fishing boats, and in lumber mills, and fish, fruit, and vegetable canneries. It is estimated that the number going to work on the farms in the Fraser Valley during the berry picking season is over 2,000. Approximately six hundred Japanese farmers employ an average of four extra hands each, nearly all of whom are drawn from Vancouver. The majority return after the berry crop is harvested, but late in August many of them go back to the valley to pick hops. In addition, many Japanese from Vancouver make regular annual trips to the fishing grounds on the Nass and Skeena Rivers in northern British Columbia, some as partners on boats and others as labourers in the canneries. As a result, Vancouver has a fluctuating Japanese population, low in summer and high in winter, which ranged in 1933 from 7,000 to 8,500.

The residential distribution and the economic organization of an immigrant group in a metropolitan community provide a fair indication of the extent to which the group has been assimilated (see map II).

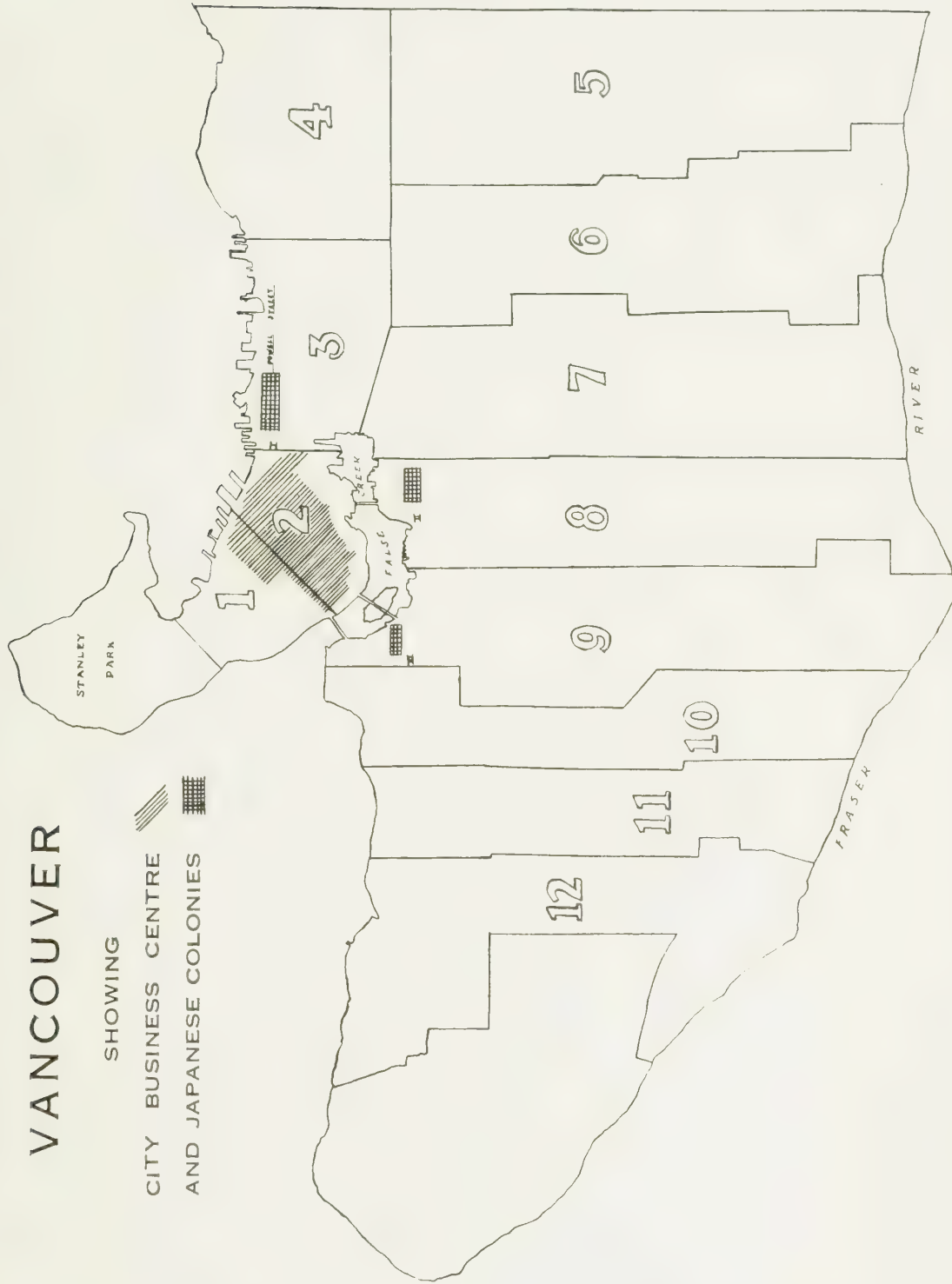
²Report of the Medical Health Officer, Vancouver, B.C.

While the Japanese are to be found in every ward, there is a very definite tendency for them to concentrate in three or four of these. Settlement I in Ward 3 consists of the so-called Japanese Town, containing the business centre of the Japanese community and an extensive middle and lower class residential section. The principal thoroughfare is Powell Street, between Main and Campbell Streets, where are located the business offices, retail stores, restaurants, and rooming houses of the area. Japanese Town is located to the east and on the outskirts of the business centre of the city. In any metropolitan area this is usually the place of first immigrant settlement. This is explained by the fact that a city grows from the business centre outwards and with the encroachment of the business centre on the residential circumference, the well-to-do citizens forsake the houses nearest the business centre, leaving an area between them and the centre of the city which undergoes deterioration. This area becomes a slum in which newly arrived immigrants with a very low standard of living first settle. In Vancouver the Japanese and other immigrant groups, notably the Chinese who are on Pender Street, two or three blocks south and west of the Japanese, are found in this area. False Creek prevented the early expansion of the Vancouver business district to the south and forced it to the east and west. A result of this was the deterioration of the area in which the Japanese, Chinese, and other immigrants are now living, as shown in the inferior buildings, the burlesque shows and cheap theatres in the vicinity of Main and Hastings Streets, the large number of rooming houses, and the mission churches and Salvation Army barracks. The Japanese in this general area are confined to their own section of it within which they predominate.

VANCOUVER

SHOWING

CITY BUSINESS CENTRE
AND JAPANESE COLONIES



JAPANESE POPULATION BY WARDS FOR VANCOUVER, 1931

Ward	Japanese Total
1	109
2	19,815
3	312
4	15,499
5	4,520
6	30,223
7	415
8	17,490
9	63
10	12,132
11	162
12	23,662
	165
	37,222
	1,049
	15,422
	1,107
	24,482
	217
	18,642
	182
	15,300
	27
	16,704
	8,328
	246,593

MAP II

Settlements II and III on the south shore of False Creek have much in common with the Powell Street district. They are located in an interstitial area, or zone between two other areas, one containing the heavy industries on the south shore of False Creek, and the other, the better residential area farther to the south. Wards 8 and 10 account for over 50 per cent of the Japanese population of Vancouver outside of Settlement I. Two factors influencing this settlement of the Japanese are the cheap, inferior houses and cabins on the streets just south of the creek, and the immediate vicinity of the sawmills and shingle mills in which many of the Japanese work. In both settlements Japanese labourers and tradesmen have a comparatively low standard of living. In Ward 4, between streets Campbell and Renfrew, and Wall and Venables, the Japanese along the waterfront are labourers, but farther back are to be found some good middle class Japanese homes. In recent years there has been a gradual but definite exodus of Japanese who could afford it, from the Powell Street district or Settlement I, to Ward 4 and other parts of the city such as the good residential districts at Kerrisdale and the 10th Avenue Kitsilano district, south of False Creek. In metropolitan communities it is usually found that the economically successful element in the immigrant group tends to move out of the first area of immigrant settlement into the more heterogeneous and socially higher residential sections of the community, and this in spite of a colour ban. The extent to which the Japanese have moved to the other parts of Vancouver is roughly indicative of the degree to which they have acquired a higher standard of living.

The distribution of Japanese commercial activities throughout the city is in marked contrast with residential distribution. Map II shows the distribution

of Japanese merchants with telephones in 1934. Residentially the great majority of the Japanese in the city were found on a limited number of streets on which persons of other nationalities were either absent or in the minority. Economic activity, on the other hand, is dispersed and scattered throughout the city. The Japanese are found in commercial enterprises in significant numbers not only in their own areas of settlement where, incidentally, they cater to Whites as well as to Japanese, but also to a remarkable extent all over the city where their only customers are Whites. Their unusual progress in this respect has led Whites to call them "the Jews of the Orient", and has aroused antagonistic comment.

Pender Street East is triumphant. Insidiously, but surely and with marked acceleration every year, it is establishing glorified extensions of itself along Robson Street, Davie, sections of Granville, and a dozen or more commercial streets of Vancouver upon which, even so short a while as ten years ago, not a single Chinese or Japanese shop was to be found. The wholesale as well as the retail white trader is beginning to feel the cut of Oriental competition, and if this state of affairs continues to increase during the next ten years unchecked, at the rate it has during the past ten years, many of our best streets now will then resemble the best streets of Hongkong or Shanghai in the matter of shops, their proprietors, clerks and assistants.³

The remarkable economic expansion of the Japanese is again brought out strikingly in Japanese Consular statistics on the occupational distribution of the Japanese in the city of Vancouver. Estimated to cover about 82 per cent of the Japanese population in Vancouver, or all the Japanese permanently resident in the city at the time of the Consular survey, it shows 2,091 males and 405 females gainfully employed out of a total population of 7,160. The labourers

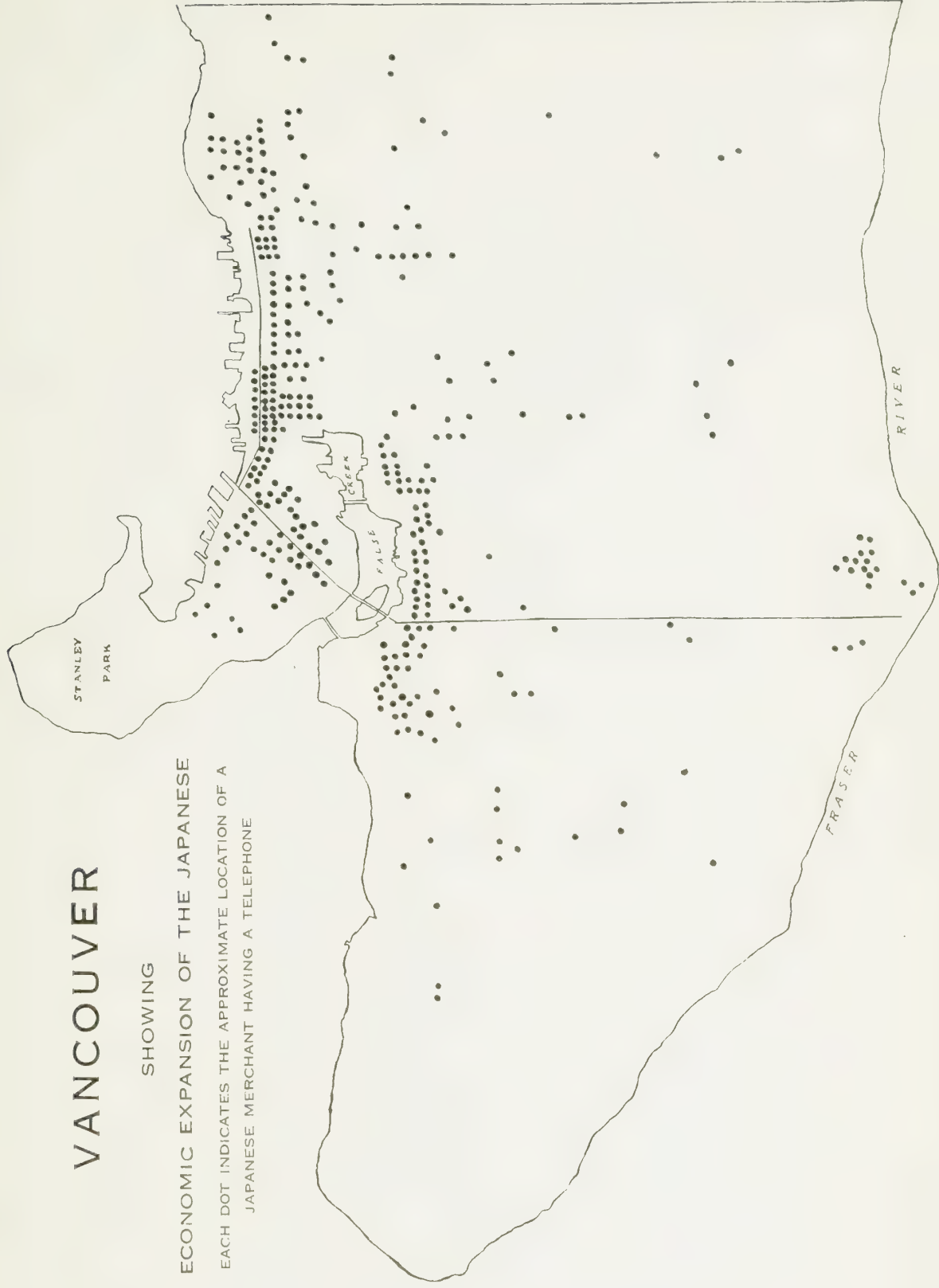
³Tom MacInnes, *Oriental Occupation of British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1927), pp. 35-6.

VANCOUVER

SHOWING

ECONOMIC EXPANSION OF THE JAPANESE

EACH DOT INDICATES THE APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF A
JAPANESE MERCHANT HAVING A TELEPHONE



MAP III

totalled 1,031 or nearly 54 per cent of all gainfully employed males. The largest number of these were dependent upon lumber mills, followed by those in gardening, odd labour, domestic service, and hotel service, in the order named. The condition of the Japanese in this group in Vancouver during the depression has been unenviable.⁴ The wages for Japanese sawmill labour fell to 13½ cents on the average in 1932, though they were raised to a minimum of 25 cents per hour in 1934. Gardeners during the same period received from 25 to 40 cents per hour when they were employed. The evidence of depressing labour conditions is, however, less significant than is the evidence of Japanese economic expansion.

Approximately 46 per cent of the gainfully employed Japanese males were not in the labour group. Except for a very small minority in professional work, almost all were in commercial enterprises: retail, wholesale, importing and exporting, and personal services. This remarkable expansion has occurred in the last two decades and especially during the twenties. A statement in the Japanese Consulate showing the date of opening of sixty more or less important Japanese business establishments between 1892 and 1931 shows that about two-thirds have been opened since 1914.

Further evidence of similar expansion is recorded. In 1931 the Japanese had 858 trading licences (a decline from 1,060 in 1927), as compared with 10,772

⁴R. Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (a thesis submitted to the Department of Economics of the University of British Columbia, 1935), p. 374. Many of the Japanese labourers have suffered terribly during the depression years. The writer is acquainted with one family, and has heard stories of more who, two years ago, were reduced to foraging for food in garbage cans and who went to the restaurants begging for the food left on the plates, for many Japanese feel that to be on relief is a most terrible disgrace. At present the situation is much better although many still exist in great misery.

for non-Orientals. In other words, while there was one licence for every ten Japanese in the city, there was only one for every twenty-one non-Orientals. As dressmakers and fish dealers, the Japanese shared the total number of licences about equally with Whites, and as proprietors of baths, cleaners and pressers, barbers, proprietors of lodging houses, grocers and tobacconists, they were serious competitors.

LICENCES GRANTED TO JAPANESE AND OTHERS IN SELECTED TRADES IN VANCOUVER,* 1931

Licence	Japanese		Non-Orientals	Total
	Number	Percentage		
Dressmakers.....	39	54.9	32	71
Fish dealers.....	24	47.1	25	51
Baths.....	24	38.1	36	63
Cleaners and pressers	81	36.7	133	220
Barbers.....	67	20.9	236	320
Lodging houses.....	123	18.9	517	650
Grocers.....	104	15.3	544	680
Tobacconists.....	200	13.2	1,221	1,520
Miscellaneous.....	196	2.2	8,028	8,957
TOTAL.....	858		10,772	12,532†

*See pp. 246-50.

†The totals include, in addition to the Japanese and non-Orientals, the Chinese and Hindus.

The following table lists sixty of the larger Japanese establishments and presents details as to their capital investment, gross revenue, and the number of persons employed by each.⁵ These concerns are comparatively small, but a surprisingly large percentage of them carry on a rather extensive business. The Japan and Canada Trust Savings Company, the financial centre of the Japanese-Canadian community, together with the assistance of two Canadian branch banks, supplies the financial needs of the majority of the

⁵Records of the Japanese Consulate, Vancouver, 1934. Courtesy of R. Sumida.

Japanese in Vancouver. It operates a business having a gross revenue of \$800,000 annually. Second in importance to the Trust Company from the standpoint of capital, come nine importing and exporting firms, which in 1933 exported a total of \$2,119,000 of wheat, lumber, and salt fish, chiefly to Japan. The third group consists of manufacturers and wholesalers. Six of these represent a total investment of \$200,000. Fourteen establishments in grocery and

TRADE ACTIVITY OF SELECTED JAPANESE ENTERPRISES IN VANCOUVER,
1934

Kind of trade	Investment	Gross revenue	Employees
Trust company.....	\$ 20,000	\$ 800,000	5
Wheat, lumber, fish export.....	500,000	500,000	4
Salt fish mfg. and export.....	150,000	93,000	65
Salt salmon mfg. and export.....	100,000	125,000	120
" " " " ".....	120,000	83,000	63
" " " " ".....	72,000	58,000	57
" " " " ".....	450,000	700,000	30
Wheat, lumber, fish export.....	300,000	340,000	8
Fresh fish, salt fish export.....	25,000	152,000	55
Lumber camp and export.....	25,000	68,000	23
Importer.....	20,000	57,000	5
Tobacco wholesale.....	35,000	275,000	6
Provision supplying wholesale.....	15,000	40,000	...
Paper box mfg.....	35,000	11,000	13
Beverage mfg.....	100,000	88,000	12
Candy mfg. and retail.....	5,000	20,000	2
" " " " ".....	10,000	18,000	5
Grocery and provision supply.....	60,000	630,000	26
" " " " ".....	130,000	155,000	15
" " " " ".....	74,000	48,000	2
" " " " ".....	30,000	70,000	10
" " " " ".....	12,000	28,000	...
" " " " ".....	6,000	18,000	2
" " " " ".....	12,000	52,000	2
Provision supply.....	35,000	80,000	1
" " " " ".....	5,000	20,000	4
" " " " ".....	4,000	28,000	3
Fish market and provision supply..	25,000	18,000	3
" " " " ".....	6,000	80,000	7
" " " " ".....	8,000	51,000	1
" " " " ".....	10,000	180,000	10

TRADE ACTIVITY OF SELECTED JAPANESE ENTERPRISES IN VANCOUVER,
1934 (*continued*)

Kind of trade	Investment	Gross revenue	Employees
Drug store.....	25,000	42,000	2
“ “	5,000	23,000	2
“ “	15,000	10,000	1
“ “	55,000	100,000	3
Women's wear.....	50,000	200,000	16
Silk store.....	250,000	450,000	12
“ “	54,000	57,000	4
“ “	20,000	40,000	3
Dry goods store.....	85,000	110,000	6
“ “ “	16,000	16,000	1
“ “ “	20,000	72,000	3
Shoe shop.....	12,000	19,000	1
“ “	15,000	20,000	2
Hardware store.....	10,000	33,000	3
Second hand store.....	4,000	28,000	1
“ “ “	5,000	20,000	2
Coal and woodyard.....	30,000	150,000	18
Watch repair.....	12,000	10,000	2
“ “	8,000	10,000	1
Auto supply.....	12,000	13,000	...
“ “	42,000	63,000	11
Shipping broker.....	8,000	67,000	...
Newspaper and printing.....	100,000	50,000	36
“ “ “	15,000	24,000	18
Stationery.....	20,000	25,000	3
Chinese restaurant.....	36,000	19,000	8
Radio shop.....	10,000	40,000	3
Rooming house.....	15,000	12,000	1
“ “	9,000	11,000	2
“ “	12,000	12,000	1

provision stores had a total investment of \$389,000. Not included in the table are 49 Japanese members of the British Columbia Purchasers' Association engaged in the confectionery business. Four of the seven Japanese drug stores had a capital investment of \$150,000. The Japanese are not permitted to become pharmacists and only one of these stores is a pharmacy. Seven Japanese dry goods stores of the twelve in Vancouver had a total investment of nearly \$500,000

in 1933. Rooming houses in the list totalled 103—the average house having thirty or thirty-five rooms. The great majority of roomers are single men, consisting of labourers of all kinds, many on municipal and provincial relief.

Many Whites consider the remarkable economic expansion of the Japanese as a legitimate cause for their antagonism towards them. It should be noted, however, that the expansion in the case of the Japanese is not peculiar to them, but it is a part of the normal development of any immigrant group, regardless of race or nationality. Sociologists in Chicago and other metropolitan centres in the United States and Canada have shown that it is customary for immigrant groups, with a lower standard of living than the native-born, to start at the bottom of the economic ladder and work up, or in terms of their spatial distribution in the community, to establish themselves near the centre of a city in the low standard of living area called the slum, and, as they acquire a higher standard of living, to move out gradually into the other areas of the metropolitan community.⁶

Initially such expansion is of an economic nature. The natural impulse of all immigrants is to reside among, and remain in close contact with, people of their own race, nationality, culture, and class, but they must work in order to live, and they are therefore compelled to go to the native-born section which controls the wealth of the community and dominates its industrial activities. It is through work obtained in this way that they enter into the life of the larger group. They learn the language of the new community, adopt its customs, acquire its ideas and ideals, and eventually become attached to it. Thus it is that economic contacts tend to set the pace of their assim-

⁶Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago, 1929).

lation, just as their narrower social contacts with people of their own race and nationality tend to retard it. In the case of the Japanese, it is true that, in some industries, they formerly worked in gangs under a "boss" of their own race, and were required to learn very little English and to know little about the community. Many entered domestic service in professional and in upper middle class families solely to acquire a working knowledge of good English. Expansion in commercial activities in Vancouver and other cities involved extensive contacts with the White population and gave the Japanese continuous training along similar lines. Individual economic progress and a higher social status were dependent on an understanding of the English language and a greater knowledge of the White community. The Japanese, perhaps more than any other immigrants, were quick to grasp that fact.

The more rapid the economic expansion of an immigrant group, the more quickly it is likely to be assimilated. The speed of assimilation in the case of the Japanese, however, is offset to a certain extent by the fact that the discrimination which results from their economic expansion tends to drive them in on themselves for protection and postpones their ultimate attachment to the community. Paradoxical as it may seem, the more rapidly the Japanese are assimilated, the sooner will they be unable to outstrip the native population in economic competition. For this is what happens. As soon as the immigrants and their children acquire the means, they tend to adopt the standard of living of the native population, including not only better food, clothing, and shelter, but also the more leisurely habits of the Whites and an interest in those activities which increased money and leisure time make possible. Evidences of this trans-

formation are already so marked that the second generation of Japanese are often criticized as being less industrious than their parents. When the standards of living of the immigrants and the native-born become more or less equal, there is not much to choose between the two groups from a competitive standpoint, the advantage in this instance remaining with the Whites because of the differentiating physiological characteristics of the Japanese. The prospect that the Japanese and Whites may be more evenly matched in economic competition by virtue of the improved standard of living of the former is dimmed, however, by the preoccupation on the part of the Whites with the effects of competition with the Japanese, and also because their objections arise on other than economic grounds.

That the standard of living of the Japanese will at least equal that of the White groups in a comparatively short time is indicated by the rapid progress already made by the Japanese. References in the *Report of the Royal Commission* of 1902 indicate that in the cities of British Columbia the conditions under which the immigrants lived at that time were almost incredibly bad. The Sanitary Inspector of the city of Victoria, speaking before the Commissioners, thus described the housing situation among the Japanese immigrants in his city at the time of the investigation: "There is not a Japanese town the same as Chinatown [in Victoria]. There are only three or four Japanese boarding houses and some few in them. There were nineteen or twenty Japanese boarding houses last summer. I have seen forty-five in one room in one night. We had to take them to court and fine them for breaking the Health by-law. I have had no

trouble since I took four different parties into court.”⁷ Immigration officials, medical officers, and sanitary inspectors all bear witness to the unsanitary conditions and the very low standard of living of the immigrants in their early years in Canada.

Contrasted with this is the remarkable advance of the standard of living of the group since the beginning of the century, which is evidenced by the standard of living of the Japanese at the present time. The living conditions and economic status of the Japanese in Vancouver are impressive though they are variable, as are those of the Whites, since they necessarily reflect the more complex and specialized nature of a metropolitan community. A casual acquaintance with members of the group and a glance at some of the better homes in the Japanese settlements in Vancouver give evidence of the progress that has been made both in attaining a greater degree of economic security and in acquiring a more satisfactory standard of living. Outstanding with reference to income and expenditures are the merchants, or “the big business men” of the Japanese community, comprising the importers, exporters, and the proprietors of the large stores. The professional men, almost exclusively doctors and dentists, and the tradesmen or small business men, also enjoy a comparatively high income and standard of living, though markedly below that of the merchant group. In contrast to the above groups are the labouring classes, skilled and unskilled, and the fishermen, all of whom receive and spend at least less than half of the amount received and spent by the lowest economic group in the first three classes. The skilled labourers are the most fortunate of the lower income groups, the fisher-

⁷*Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration.*



Japanese workingmen's homes,
Vancouver.



Japanese rooming house,
Vancouver.



Home of prominent Japanese
doctor, Vancouver.



Publishing offices of *The Continental
Daily News*, Vancouver.



Japanese Bank and Trust Building,
Vancouver.

men rank next, followed by the unskilled labourers. It is undoubtedly possible that there are groups in the White population of the Province and the Dominion whose position is worse than that of the last three groups of Japanese. In any case there is conclusive evidence of economic and social progress on the part of the Japanese. The economic status of the Japanese in the other cities of British Columbia, and notably in Victoria, appears to be higher than that of the Japanese in Vancouver.

The changes which have occurred in the economic status and in the living conditions of the Japanese in Vancouver may be regarded, with some reservations, as indicative of what has happened to the Japanese, few in number, in other cities of the Dominion. There too, they have made great progress, but this does not appear to have prejudiced their relations with the Whites who know them. The Japanese in the East show a greater appreciation of the White point of view, and a detachment about things Japanese which seems to be foreign to the Japanese in British Columbia.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BUSINESS MAN

Osaka is the proprietor of a prosperous silk store in the retail district of Vancouver. He arrived in Canada in 1907, a young man in his middle twenties. His status in Japan had been somewhat higher than that of the average Japanese immigrant because his father was a merchant. After graduating from public school, Osaka began his career as an apprentice in his father's shop. However, his father had six children and there was no urgent need of Osaka's assistance, and after a few years in the shop he emigrated to Canada.

Osaka was unemployed for a month after his arrival, but there was a lively demand for Japanese servants and he soon obtained a job, receiving board and lodging and a monthly salary of \$8.00. Neither the work nor the remuneration satisfied him and he resigned at the end of a year and became clerk in a fifteen cent store at a salary of \$20 per month. After six months he left and entered the real estate and insurance field which paid him \$50 a month and allowed him a greater degree of freedom.

At the end of two years in real estate he went into the wholesale business, getting an increase of \$25 per month on his previous salary. He stayed for three years, and then opened a retail store. He averaged \$100 a month during his four years in the business. He made his last move in opening a silk store on Granville Street, in the centre of the Vancouver shopping district. He has had this store for over sixteen years, and it represents an investment of over \$47,000.

Osaka's standard of living has been in keeping with his position in the business world. At the time of the survey, he had a seven room house in a nice residential section of Vancouver, equipped with such modern conveniences as radio, vacuum cleaner, ice box, washing machine, etc. Taxes on the house amounted to \$150 per year. Expenditures in addition to taxes were \$720 for food per year, \$240 for education, \$180 for clothing, \$120 for recreation, \$100 for medical services, \$60 for insurance, and \$24 for newspapers.

Osaka was unmarried when he came to this country. After five years he brought a bride out from the homeland. Mrs. Osaka went to both the public school and a girl's High school in Japan. Osaka improved himself after coming to Canada by attending a night school. The Osakas have had three children and all of them are living, ranging in age from twelve to nineteen years. The

oldest, a boy, has just completed his formal education, graduating from a Vancouver High school. The remaining two children are girls and are now attending Junior High schools in Vancouver. All members of the family save the mother speak, read, and write in both English and Japanese.

The Osakas have apparently broken most of their ties with Japan. He used to write home about once a month when he first came out, but he states that he does not write at all now. None of his children are there and he does not send money to relatives. Though he has been back to Japan twice, he plans to live in Canada permanently. He is a regular member of the Japanese Association in Vancouver, and both he and his wife are members of a Japanese United Church which they attend regularly once a week. They are very fond of the movies, attending twice a week. Members of the family play golf and tennis, and for additional recreation visit friends in other cities.

ROOMING HOUSE PROPRIETOR, VANCOUVER

Okayama has been engaged in almost every kind of occupation since he came to Canada from Japan in 1907. He worked on the railroad as one of a number of contract labourers for three years. He left because of the seasonal nature of railroading as well as the poor wages, averaging \$25 per month. His next job was housework at \$10 per month in addition to board and lodging. He then turned to farming and worked as a farm labourer for six months at a salary of \$30 a month. At the end of the six months he quit farming and obtained work as a labourer in the copper mine at Britannia Beach where he remained for three years at \$35 per month. From this he went into fishing which promised him freedom of action and a fair income. His luck or competence in fishing led him after eight years to give it up and become a labourer in a sawmill, at a wage of \$35 a month. After two years, he worked in a laundry for one year, at an average income of \$100 per month. At the end of that time he went into business for himself, renting a 45-room rooming house where he has remained.

Okayama was married several years before he left Japan. His wife and two girls waited seventeen years after he came to Canada for him to earn and save enough to provide a home for them. They arrived in 1924. All of them had received the regular public school education in Japan. All members of the family reside in Vancouver, the father and mother by themselves, and the two girls, who are married, with their respective families. All members of the family except the mother speak English.

Okayama states that his rooming house represents an investment of \$2,500. In spite of a "hard luck story", he and his wife do not appear to be suffering much. They average \$100 a month for food, \$200 a year for taxes, \$160 for rent, \$60 for fuel, and \$65 for light. These expenses are not a fair index of the family standard of living because much of the money is spent for the operation of the rooming house. On such items as recreation, on which they spend an average of \$10 per month, they are not denying themselves.

Since 1924 Okayama has had little reason to write to Japan. The first year after his arrival he wrote to Japan on an average of at least once a month, but since his family came out he has written to Japan only once. He keeps in touch with events in his native land through Japanese newspapers to which he subscribes, and through the organizations to which he belongs. He is a member of the Okayama *ken-jin-kai*, or prefectural association which meets once a year, of the Canadian Japanese Association, and of the Rooming House Association. Recreation for the family includes a movie now and then, and for Okayama in the winter, wrestling, of which he appears to be very fond.

CHAPTER V

JAPANESE-CANADIAN SOCIETY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

I. THE FAMILY AS THE BASIC SOCIAL UNIT

THE Japanese immigrant is a citizen of two worlds: the one which he shares with his fellow immigrants, and the one which he and they have in common with the remaining groups in the Canadian community. The first of these worlds is more intimately associated with the affairs of the immigrants because it is so definitely linked with their past in Japan. While its origins derive from Japan, its present setting is Canadian and its essential characteristics are consequently modified. It is really, indeed, neither Japanese nor Canadian. It is a marginal world or society between the two civilizations, with customs and institutions peculiar to itself and an atmosphere all its own. The most appropriate name for this society is Japanese-Canadian, for while its roots are in the soil of Japan, its structure and content are increasingly altered by unceasing adaptation to the environment of the New World. It is this Japanese-Canadian society which constitutes the social *milieu* into which the immigrant from Japan becomes incorporated and to whose standards and institutions he must adapt himself.

The main outlines of this society were initially determined by the behaviour patterns brought to Canada from Japan. When the immigrants arrived here they had with them an invisible collection of relationships more significant for their future than any of their material possessions. This invisible luggage consisted of recollected associations with, and

enduring loyalties to, groups and institutions in their native land. These loyalties gave birth to similar groups and institutions. Foremost among the ties which the Japanese had when they came were those associated with the family. They were very much stronger and therefore decidedly more important in the case of the Japanese than for almost any other immigrant group migrating to the Dominion. "Both the Chinese and the Japanese inherit the background of the family group as the social unit" and its basic significance in the cultures of the two countries is, if possible, greater in Japan than in China.¹ In order to appreciate the cultural development of the Japanese in British Columbia, it is essential to know the principal features of the family as it has obtained in Japan.

The large family system in Japan, involved not only comprehensive kinship relations with contemporaries but also with one's ancestors. Binding ties were maintained not only with the present but were established with the past, thereby enhancing the importance of tradition in the culture. The men were regarded as the backbone of the family and the father its supreme authority. The position of the women was very low, even lower than that of the women in China. They had to obey their elders and their husbands whatever the command might be. Children were expected to be obedient and were obedient because they lived in a society which tolerated no other code. Even in adolescence the boundaries beyond which the individual could not go were clearly defined as, for example, in the separation of the sexes until the time of betrothal. The selection of a mate, moreover, was controlled by the parents. While the law permitted persons to marry without the consent

¹H. P. Fairchild, *Immigrant Backgrounds* (New York, 1927).

of their parents, this was not a common practice. In the case of farmers, the group from which the majority of our immigrants came, it was always the custom for the parents to choose the mate for their sons or daughters. The marriage ceremony was very simple. The parents made the arrangements and set the date, and on that day the girl went to her husband's home without any celebration or any dowry. Divorce was very common, in the majority of cases because the husband wanted separation.²

The Anglo-Canadian family, on the other hand, is a small family system, consisting only of parents and children and involving indifferent ties with the nearest relatives outside the immediate circle of the family. Relations within the family between the parents, on the one hand, and between the parents and children on the other, tend to be democratic, in marked contrast with the patriarchal organization to which the older Japanese have been accustomed. The authority vested in the father in former times is now shared to a great extent with the other members of the family. The wife has a position of theoretical equality, varying in actual families from a subordinate to a superior role, and the children participate increasingly in formulating the decisions arrived at by the family as a whole. When they reach adulthood they tend to leave their parents and go to work for themselves and to establish a home of their own. They may or may not consult the wishes of their parents in the selection of a mate, but they rarely leave the task of finding one and of arranging the marriage to them. Even before marriage the ties between parents and children weaken, but after it the thoughts of the children tend to centre in their new home. The Anglo-Canadian

²See Cheng Tien-Fang, *Oriental Immigration in Canada* (Shanghai, 1931), pp. 23-4.

family differs very substantially from the Japanese at almost every significant point.

These marked differences in the two types of family did not disturb the immigrants to any great extent in the early years. Their family problems at this stage of their transfer from the Old World originated chiefly in the separation of husband and wife, which almost invariably occurred. The average wife came to Canada approximately nine years after her husband; a fairly large percentage did not follow their husbands for many years, and a few remained in Japan. The more obvious result of this separation was a temporary wave of immorality among the immigrants in the early years. A veteran Japanese immigrant described conditions in the initial stages of Japanese settlement in British Columbia and told how he had sent for his wife and encouraged his friends to do likewise in order to remedy a situation which he felt might seriously injure the reputation of the immigrants. Immorality under such circumstances, however, is a socially objectionable index of a more serious type of maladjustment which occurred after the wife came out to her husband. The early arrival of the husband enabled him to acquire a lead in assimilation which his wife could not hope to overcome after she arrived. The same difficulties arose between the picture-brides and their husbands though in a more aggravated form.³

More serious familial problems developed in connection with the second generation. The parents were engrossed from the beginning in the exacting task of making a living which resulted in neglect of the welfare of their children. The break between the two

³R. Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (a thesis submitted to the Department of Economics of the University of British Columbia, 1935), p. 32.

generations widened when the children began to go to school, to learn English, and to acquire the cultural characteristics of the New World. The process of separation was later accelerated when Japanese children played with White companions and participated in Canadian games and social activities. With adolescence and the emergence of new interests for which satisfaction could be found only in the White section of the community, the influence of the Canadian environment almost transcended that of the Japanese home. At this stage the maturing members of the second generation took roughly one of two courses; some who felt that Japan and the Japanese had cultural traits worth incorporating in the new civilization cultivated their knowledge of Japanese; others, and especially those who in the opinion of the older Japanese had become "too much westernized", were inclined to break with their Japanese past and, in some cases, to criticize the more conspicuous characteristics of it embodied in the behaviour of their parents. The result was conflict between the two generations.⁴

The first generation were unable to change or to reconcile themselves to change in the second generation. Born and bred in a country which regarded the family as basic and which exalted the parents and emphasized obedience and respect to them, the first generation were outraged by the growing independence of their children. The latter became less obedient and as they reached adulthood gave every indication of managing their own affairs to please themselves, as is suggested in the following observations of a Japanese immigrant in British Columbia:

The second generation are very selfish. I have a son, and I put all the time and money I could spare in bringing him up, and now

⁴*Ibid.*

what happens? He has a job, but won't tell me how much he is making or what he does with his money. He lives at home but now doesn't give his mother a cent for his board and room. He runs around, and we don't know where he is, but we worry a great deal. Some of my friends have had the same experience. In my opinion, too, the second generation have no manners and are very conceited. They think they know everything so they try to run the home. Maybe this talk about equality, freedom, liberty, has made them lose all respect for their elders, humbleness, and a sense of obedience. In any case, they are a lot different from the Japan-born and educated.⁵

The first generation criticize the second not only because of their independence of, and lack of respect for, their parents, but also because of their apparent decline in character. Accustomed to the industry and thrift essential to existence in Japan, and loyal to the strict disciplinary code in terms of which they were brought up, the first generation deplores the absence of these characteristics in their children. A perfectly natural modification of the second generation in the direction of Canadian culture seems to the parents a regrettable lapse from the standards of work and character to which the children of the Japanese should adhere. A member of the older generation Japanese in British Columbia stated: "The second generation lack the pioneer spirit, the 'guts' of their parents who at an early age crossed the Pacific without any money but after arriving in this country, through patience, industriousness, faith in life, and sheer determination, created something out of nothing. But these second generation are afraid to move on to other parts of Canada. They are not industrious. In fact, they are lazy and think that money and success are floating in the air and can be secured without effort."⁶

Condemnation of the second generation may be partly justified but it is not wholly accurate nor

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 416.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 415.

entirely fair. It is true that they lack the obedience and respect of those born and brought up in Japan, but compared with White children in the communities in which they live, they appear as models of propriety. It is true that they are not as industrious as their parents were and that they participate to a much greater extent in leisure-time activities, but the comparative success of their parents permits them to adopt a more relaxed attitude towards work, and the standard of living of the Whites in the larger community encourages them to do so. Moreover, the second generation display the qualities which have enabled their parents to succeed, when they make enviable reputations for themselves in the educational institutions of the Province. Those who are carefree and irresponsible, judged even by Canadian standards, are a comparatively small minority. The lot of the second generation is not happy. Many feel that to be a Canadian-born Japanese is to be a "misfit", and the situation justifies them in the belief. They are criticized by the first generation for manifesting the cultural characteristics of White Canadians, and they are attacked by Whites because they retain the physical characteristics of their parents. On the other hand, the first generation urge them to abandon Japanese culture in order to assimilate more thoroughly Canadian life, and White friends who appreciate the achievements of the Japanese people advise them to retain the best of Japanese culture for the enrichment of Canadian life. The second generation of most immigrant groups have serious handicaps to overcome, but few have had to face the discouraging prospect and the bewildering counsels which confront the second generation Japanese.

The criticisms of the first generation towards the second are met by adverse criticism of the second

towards the first. The Canadian-born Japanese, influenced greatly by their western environment, are inclined to look with disdain upon the customs of their parents. They are embarrassed when they hear them speaking broken English in public. A Japanese girl said: "We do most of our shopping at Woodward's but I hate to go there with my mother. She tries to talk to the clerks half in Japanese and half in English, but it sounds so funny, and the clerks seem to be laughing at us all the time."⁷ A Japanese boy stated: "Some of the Japanese customs make me sick. Sometimes my father brings home some friends and they all sit around the table and drink 'sake' from one cup which they pass round and round the table. Maybe it's the custom in Japan, but it's very unsanitary so far as I can see."⁸

Differences between the two generations become acute when the second generation reaches adolescence and attempts to assert its independence economically and socially. New problems of a serious nature arise involving consideration of the conditions under which the older boys and girls may associate with each other. Freedom of intercourse between the two sexes during adolescence is absolutely contrary to the *mores* of Japan and therefore incomprehensible to the majority of the older generation. As a result, Japanese parents attempt to impose the code of their homeland on the second generation when it reaches the age of adolescence. The second generation object because they see no harm in a custom which appears to be universal in the White section of the community. When the parents attempt to dictate the choice of a mate, feeling between the two generations sometimes becomes so strong that relations are severed between

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 422.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 419-20.

parents and children and the children leave home. For boys and girls brought up in Japan, such dictation is accepted as necessary, but for the children of Japanese who live in Canada and who have acquired Canadian ideas of courtship and marriage, the behaviour of the parents appears as an unwarranted restriction of personal freedom.

One of the outstanding problems of the widening gap between the two generations is in the relations of the first generation males and the second generation females. As in most immigrant groups, there has been a definite preponderance of males among the Japanese, but while it would be reasonable to expect that there would be a scarcity of unmarried second generation females of marriageable age, the reverse is the case. Some communities even anticipate a surplus of unmarried second generation females so large that they have made the problem a common topic for discussion in community association meetings. This has been a result in part of the natural antipathy of the two generations for each other. The first generation male appears to prefer a bride from Japan because the second generation girl does not speak his language, will not work as he wants her to, spends too much money, and is too modern.

The writer attending a wedding reception heard the following incident related by one of the speakers. "When I asked one of our promising young Japanese students, 'Would you marry a Japanese girl born in Canada?' he replied: 'Well, I like the Canadian-born Japanese girls, but it seems to me that they are a little bit too difficult for me to handle. They are alright for fun or pleasure outside the home, but they talk too much, and they believe too much in the woman bossing the home. If I marry one of them I fear that there may be too many bosses in one home.'"⁹

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 486.

With opposition to intermarriage between the first and second generation Japanese, it is not surprising to find that the second generation Japanese show no signs of a desire to marry White Canadians. The attitude of the latter is rather well expressed as follows:

Will the Japanese element in Canada be ultimately fused biologically with the Canadian people? I venture to predict that, while sporadic cases of Euro-Asiatic unions are likely to occur, the disappearance of the Japanese race, as such, in Canada will be a tardy process. This, I think, is rather fortunate for all concerned. The progress of Canada does not depend upon the ethnic standardization of her people, and the Canadians of Japanese origin stand to be a much greater asset to Canada as such, by the contribution of things that are peculiarly Japanese biologically. This, however, is not meant to put a stamp of my disapproval upon the biological amalgamation of the races. When much of the foul airs of race prejudice has cleared away from the crania of those who sense the Cosmic approval of their germinal superiority in the accidents of their material and cultural supremacy, we shall find that we are able to view the inter-racial marriages in a saner light. We shall perhaps then admit that the hybridization of strains of *Homo Sapiens* has gone on for ages; that each individual is today biologically unique owing to the extreme heterogeneity of all parent individuals; that depending upon the hereditary qualities of individuals concerned, inter-racial unions will produce no organic deterioration, but will tend to increase the genetic potentialities of their offspring, to be exploited for the benefit of humanity. The acceptance of such a view must await for an orientation of a newer era.¹⁰

The Japanese family system differs so profoundly and at so many points from that of Canada that it makes conflict inevitable. The opposed characteristics of the two family systems find expression respectively in the attitudes of the first and second generations towards each other. As the products of Japanese culture, the parents remain devoted to, and the champions of, the old system, while the children

¹⁰E. C. Banno, "Thoughts on the Second Generation" (*The Young People*, Vancouver, May, 1931, p. 7).

become the unconscious advocates of the new, as a result of increasing contact with the culture of Canada. This has been responsible for probably the greatest division in the ranks of the Japanese in British Columbia, a division so obvious that they have distinctive names for each other. While the break may be deplored for the individual unhappiness it may cause, it is to be welcomed as an index of the degree to which the members of this immigrant group are being assimilated. Assimilation occurs primarily in the second and subsequent generations and evidences of its progress are to be found in the gap which exists between the parents and children of the immigrant group.

II. THE CHANGING RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

The Japanese situation in British Columbia is replete with interest because of the contrasts it presents. There is "the clash of colour" between two races, the conflict of cultures in the meeting of two world civilizations, and finally, the struggle between two of the three great religions. While the great majority of the immigrants were Buddhists, the development of an organized Buddhist Church to meet their religious needs was slow and many were lost to the faith. The organization of the Buddhist Church depended upon the resources of the immigrants and in the early years these were slight. Progress of the church was retarded because of the antagonism of White Canadians, many of whom were inclined to regard it as another manifestation of Japanese imperialism. The first Buddhist temple in Canada was opened in Vancouver in 1905, and a priest was brought over from Japan. Another temple, larger than the first, was erected in 1910, also in the city of

Vancouver. Throughout this early period there was only one priest to serve the Buddhists in the Japanese settlements in the various districts of British Columbia.

The organization of the Buddhist Church has improved materially in the intervening years, but the hold of Buddhism on the Japanese Canadians has very seriously declined. While all of the immigrants were Buddhists, only 14,707 of the 22,205 Japanese in British Columbia were Buddhists in 1931. Not more than 60 per cent of the population claimed to be Buddhists and the designation of many as Buddhists was undoubtedly nominal, because as Japanese they were likely to be recorded, and probably recorded themselves as Buddhists, if they belonged to no other religious group.

In 1934 the Buddhist Church in British Columbia consisted of five missions and six branches, with a total membership of approximately 1,500, served by six priests. The missions at that time held regular

MISSIONS AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE JAPANESE BUDDHIST CHURCH IN BRITISH COLUMBIA IN 1934*

Missions	Priests	Member- ship	Monthly salaries
Hompa Canada, Vancouver	Rev. Ishigino	300	\$100 (approx.)
New Westminster	" Kawasaki		100 "
Royston	" Havashi	130	Collections
Fairview	" Osuga	100	\$ 80 (approx.)
Steveston	" Tada	180	75 "
	" Moori	300	75 "
<i>Branches</i>			
West 2nd Ave., Vancouver	Ministered to	150	Collections
Marpole		40	"
Maple Ridge	by the Hompa	100	"
Mission City		50	"
Kelowna	Canada priests	145	"
Chemainus		40	"

*Interview with Buddhist Priest, the Rev. Z. Kawasaki, Hompa Canada Mission, Vancouver, 1934.

services while meetings of the branches were irregular. Associated with each of the temples and branches are women's organizations, young men's and young women's associations, and Sunday schools. According to the Canadian Japanese Association the Buddhists have a total of 28 associations, including temples, out of a grand total of approximately 228 Japanese associations in British Columbia.

Buddhism originated in India, spread to China and Korea, and from there to Japan where it was introduced in 552 A.D. By the time it reached Japan, the original Buddhism had been very greatly modified. "It now had a vast and complicated ecclesiastical and monastic machinery, a geographical and sensuous paradise, definitely located hells and purgatories populated with a hierarchy of titled demons." Members of the ruling class were early converted to the new faith and under their patronage it became firmly established during the following three hundred years. From the ninth to the twelfth century it played a dominant role in the life of the nation but towards the end of this period the over-refined teaching of Buddhism brought about a degeneracy in the religious, social, and political life of the ruling class which led to the establishment of a feudal régime under the military dictatorship of the men in the provinces. During this period the spiritual demands of the mass of the people gave rise to various sects of Buddhism which thereafter ceased to be an affair of national polity and became a question of individual piety.

The members of the Shin Sect¹¹ (founded in 1213 by the priest Shinran), have been called "the Protestants of Japanese Buddhism". They protested and still protest against penance, fasting, pilgrimages, convents and monasteries, hermitages, charms, amulets,

¹¹M. Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion* (London, 1930), pp. 12-16.

and the reading of the Buddhist sacred books in the original Sanskrit and Chinese. Their priests marry and are opposed to the celibacy of the priesthood, and their sons succeed them in office. It is the most thoroughly organized and most earnestly aggressive of all the Buddhist sects of Japan. Their clerical leaders are wide awake and active, one of the foremost priests in modern times, Akamatz, spending several years in England studying Christianity. The sect itself represents a modification of Buddhism in the direction of evangelical Christianity. Like Paul and Luther, its priests teach salvation by faith in Buddha, and not by works. The Creed of the Shin Sect given by the priest Akamatz is as follows:

Rejecting all religious austerities and other actions, giving up all idea of self-power, rely upon Amita Buddha with the whole heart for our salvation, which is the most important thing; believing that at the moment of putting one's faith in Amita Buddha our salvation is settled. From that moment invocation of his name is observed to express gratitude and thankfulness for Buddha's mercy. Moreover, being thankful for the reception of this doctrine from the founder and succeeding chief priests, whose teachings are as kind and welcome as the light in a dark night, we must also keep the laws which are fixed for our duty during our whole life.¹²

With this background in mind, it is possible to appreciate the significant changes which have occurred in the religious life of the Japanese Canadians. Since coming to the New World, organized Buddhism has tended to acquire the characteristics of a Christian church while it has lost those of a Buddhist temple. The Buddhists carry on with Sunday services and Sunday Schools in much the same fashion as Christians. They have formed almost identical societies and organizations for their young people and adults. The temples operate kindergartens, imitative of the Christian churches, and have both Japanese and

¹²Frank S. Dobbins, *The Story of the World's Worship* (Chicago, 1901), pp. 656-73.



Japanese Buddhist Temple.



Japanese United Church,
Fairview District, Vancouver.



Roman Catholic Kindergarten
Mission, Vancouver.



Japanese Anglican Church,
Fairview District, Vancouver.



Roman Catholic Hospital, Van-
couver, where Orientals are given
free care and attention.

White teachers. The modified state of Buddhism in the United States is approximately the same as that which obtains in British Columbia: "A Buddhist Church with an altar bearing its lotus flowers, candles and figures of Amita Buddha, just as one might see in Japan, combined with an auditorium containing pews, hymn books and an organ, is symbolical of what is happening to Buddhism in America."¹³ The Rev. J. Mizuno, Japanese Minister of the Japanese United Church in Steveston, gave us a fair description of the state of Buddhism in the Province in the following words.

It is strange to see that Buddhism in British Columbia seems to be a mixed religion. It is a combination of the original Buddhism and the newer Christianity. Many methods and activities of the Buddhist Church are adopted from the practices of the Christian Church. The Buddhist churches have the same method used in the Christian churches of teaching children in Sunday and Saturday schools. They even sing Christian hymns such as "Buddha loves me, this I know", instead of "Jesus loves me, this I know". The use of the organ, hymn books and the adoption of kindergarten are sure evidence of the Christianization of Buddhism in this Province.¹⁴

The next most significant thing about Buddhism among the Japanese Canadians is that its appeal is primarily to the first generation, and to a selected group within it since the bulk of the immigrants were Buddhists when they came. The continuing adherence of the older generation to Buddhism when their fellow immigrants have become Christian appears to be the result of a definite attraction in Buddhism for those Japanese who prize more highly than their fellows their linkage with the culture of Japan. Many Japanese immigrants are strongly of the opinion that the proud "Yamato-damashii" or "Japanese spirit" should be maintained in British Columbia. They

¹³A. W. Palmer, *Orientalism in American Life* (New York, 1934), p. 63.

¹⁴Summer, 1934.

believe that the Japanese race is superior to the White race in moral qualities. They attribute this to the influence of Buddhism in teaching obedience to the Emperor, the teacher, and the parents, and in requiring the parents to devote all their energy to the welfare of their children from whom in return they must receive the utmost devotion. They want Buddhism for themselves and desire it for the second generation. They fear that if this moral superiority is lost by the second generation they will sink to the level of the native Indian and be regarded with contempt by the White race because they lack pride in themselves either as Japanese or Canadian. As in many immigrant groups, the native religion appeals primarily to the adults and to a selected type of adult, one who is more conscious of his affinity with his native land and for whom religion has become identified with nationality.

The majority of the second generation do not belong to the Buddhist Church and many are consciously opposed to it and what it represents in the life of their people.¹⁵ Their training in most other respects is Anglo-Saxon and, indirectly, Christian. Their playmates, schools, calendar, holidays, and activities, are integral parts of a civilization which, superficially at least, is Christian. The younger generation are not trained to understand or appreciate Buddhism and therefore feel ill at ease on their infrequent contacts with it in the Buddhist temple or its local equivalent. A Japanese-Canadian youth on the occasion of his first visit to a Buddhist temple stated: "The first time I attended a Buddhist cere-

¹⁵Only 45.7 per cent of the second generation in British Columbia were Buddhists in 1934 (Canadian Japanese Association, *Survey of the Second Generation of Japanese in British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1935, p. 35).

mony I got a peculiar impression from it. . . . The whole thing was so peculiar, the priest's chanting which no one understood, the impressive sound of the gong, the people praying, cubing their hands and mumbling, the hymn copied from the Christian custom, everything so different from what I had been accustomed to."¹⁶ Moreover, the second generation Japanese are quick to sense the fact that Buddhism distinguishes them as Japanese and prejudices their contacts with the White section of the community. A Japanese university graduate observes: "The chief criticism of Buddhism arises mostly from the younger Japanese. Some maintain that Buddhists are too conservative, too nationalistic, and too superstitious."¹⁷

Perhaps the most remarkable feature about the religious situation among the Japanese in British Columbia is the unusual progress of Christianity in the three or four decades since the immigrants first settled in the communities of the Province. Christian missionary work began as early as 1892 when the Japanese Christian Endeavour Society of Seattle sent a Mr. Okamoto to work among the newly arrived Japanese in British Columbia. His work was so successful that a Christian Sunday School was established in Vancouver in 1896. It was followed by the construction of a Christian Japanese Hospital in Steveston in 1900. From that time, through the material resources supplied by the larger Protestant denominations and the very capable leadership of several Japanese Christian ministers, conversion of the Japanese to Christianity proceeded at a rapid rate. In 1931 there were 7,239 Japanese Christians in British Columbia, representing approximately one-third of the total Japanese population. Since there

¹⁶Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia", p. 467.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 146.

is little likelihood of the census enumerator recording the Japanese as "Christian" unless they are really such, it is not inaccurate to state that Buddhism, though nominally the larger group, is not greatly superior in influence and vitality to the Christian denominations.

The United Church of Canada is the most important Christian denomination competing with Buddhism and having as members 4,789 Japanese Christians. In 1933 the United Church had six fields representing a total of twenty-one appointments; a church membership of 855, and a total of 5,365 under "pastoral oversight". The fields were served by six Japanese ministers who raised \$24,835 for all purposes. Perhaps the most significant feature is the unusual strength of the Sunday Schools and "other organizations", as compared with church membership, indicating that the appeal of the church is primarily, though not exclusively, to the younger generation (see p. 216).¹⁸

How can we account for the great inroads which these Christian churches have made in the Japanese Buddhist community? The Christian churches had the advantage of Buddhism because they were organized from the beginning to carry on missionary work. But this does not account for the more significant fact that the change from Buddhism to Christianity appears to have been made in most cases with much less conflict than frequently accompanies the conversion of a Catholic to Protestantism or the converse in many parts of Canada. For the answer we must discover influences in the background of these people which enable them not only to accept but to welcome a religion so removed from theirs in its cultural antecedents. In their native land, the Japanese appear to regard all religions with tolerance. "The

¹⁸Statistics taken from *United Church Year Book*, 1933.

average person in Japan does not analyse the three systems (Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism). To him they are an amalgam, forming one method of life."¹⁹ This attitude is possible because the three religions deal with different phases of religious life: Shintoism with the past, Confucianism with the present, and Buddhism with the future. Again, the favourable reaction of the Japanese to Christian missionary activities which is a result of this tolerance includes those elements in the culture of Japan to which, apparently, Christianity makes a distinct appeal. Among these are the sacrifice of the interests of the individual to the welfare of the group, respect and affection for parents, goodwill towards the other members of the community, simplicity, truthfulness, honesty, and courtesy. These moral precepts have a traditional value for the Japanese, some having an almost unique appeal. They are also essential features of the Christian code. Buddhism, moreover, and especially the Shin Sect, has so many principles and practices in common with evangelical Christianity that conversion from one to the other is not as radical a step as it first appears. In the following case the Japanese convert to Christianity alternates in his devotions to Buddha and Christ during the transitional period before committing himself unconditionally to the latter.

I attended the English night school and religious services of the mission by reason, I should say, of necessity and circumstance, rather than from personal conviction, but Providence works mysteriously. Without much consciousness of its operation, I was brought step by step to the knowledge of the Christian's God and of salvation in Jesus Christ. One day, more than twenty years ago, I knelt in company with half a dozen other young men before the altar and received baptism. From Buddhism to Christianity!

¹⁹W. E. Griffin, *Dux Christus: An Outline Study of Japan* (New York, 1904), pp. 117-8.

Do you appreciate the spiritual significance of the faith transition? At the moment of baptism, I really thought that I was forsaken of Buddha, and yet, on the other hand, I was not absolutely certain, as I now am, of my salvation by my new God and Saviour. Oh, the loneliness of soul! I thought then it was a very unsafe policy to forsake Buddha all at once, at least until I became very certain of my salvation in Christ. Hence, I worshipped Buddha in the morning and Christ in the evening, which order, however, I afterwards reversed to Christ in the morning and Buddha in the evening, relegating to Christ the higher honour of the morning worship. But this state of religious dilemma, by its very nature, could not continue very long. With deepened knowledge of Christian salvation and increasing faith in Christ, there came a day, or should I say a moment, a vital moment which determined my future welfare and eternal destiny, when I once and forever forsook Buddha, who had been for these long years my saviour and guardian, and gave myself unreservedly up to Christ, accepting Him as my personal Saviour and Lord and Him enthroned. Buddha has disappeared from my religious horizon as the moon before the sun. Many years have come and gone since that day, but not for a moment do I feel sorry for my conversion, neither has Christ disappointed me, no not once. As long as I live yes, unto eternity, I shall be His.²⁰

Foremost among elements more immediately responsible for conversion was the influence exerted by the Christian Japanese ministers who functioned not only as ministers but also as friends, and gained the affection and respect of the immigrants more as leaders of their people than as ministers of the Gospel. They acted as interpreters, employment agents, mediators, legal advisors, educators and doctors, and rendered countless other services at all times. By virtue of their training in Canadian theological seminaries, on the one hand, and their influential connections with the White-Canadian community, on the other, they had a distinct advantage over the Buddhist priests in helping any of their people in their relations with individuals or institutions in the larger community. The Christian Church was the first, and

²⁰S. S. Osterhout, *Orientalists in Canada* (Toronto, 1929), pp. 152-3.

for many the only, important institution in the White-Canadian community which held out a helping hand and ministered to the needs of the newly arrived immigrants. To a people handicapped by inability to communicate with the native population, strangers in an environment indifferent if not actually hostile, the church loomed as a friend in a time of need. A Japanese immigrant who came out to Canada at the age of sixteen wrote:

After arriving in Canada I was heartsick with disappointment and loneliness. . . . I had gone to work in the West End of Vancouver where there were no other Japanese. . . . I was naturally desirous of visiting the Japanese quarter for there I believed I could find companionship; but when I did so I found it not as easy to become acquainted as I had imagined. After a short time in Vancouver I entered the night school at the Japanese Mission on Powell Street and there I found the pupils and teachers glowing with friendliness and cheerfulness, ever ready to help one in difficulty. . . . One day I visited one of the teachers, now the Rev. Mr. N. a minister of the Anglican Church. I asked why the teachers in our school were so kind. Mr. N. replied that there was nothing extraordinary in the teachers but that they were simply doing what they should, and attempting to follow the path that Jesus Christ had pointed out for all men. His words stirred me deeply and I began to read the Bible. But until I read the New Testament it did not interest or inspire me. But in the New Testament I found something that did interest and inspire me, and then I came to regard the Old Testament in a new light, so that the whole Bible became a great source of pleasure and consolation. A few years later I voluntarily joined the Christian Church as a member of the Powell Street Japanese United Church.²¹

Christianity has been particularly successful among the second generation Japanese. This is indicated by the strength of the Sunday Schools and young people's organizations. According to the authors of the *Survey of the Second Generation* by the Canadian Japanese Association, nearly 44 per cent of the second

²¹Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia", pp. 127-8.

generation in all districts are Christian as compared with a total of only 46 per cent for the Buddhists. In the urban districts the percentage of those "with religion" who are Christians is well in excess of the Buddhists, representing 55 per cent of the total.

For the second generation, Christianity appears as a part of the total culture of the country. The Japanese are inclined to think of it as "the national religion" of Canada and to regard it as a natural acquisition for a Canadian-born citizen of the Dominion. This is not only the attitude of the children but also of parents, many of them members of the Buddhist Church. Paradoxically the survey discovered orthodox Buddhist parents recognizing the need of and advocating Christianity for their children on the grounds that it is essential to their normal development in the Canadian setting and to their ultimate assimilation. A prominent Buddhist in a Fraser Valley settlement stated: "It is difficult for me to give up Buddhism, but I am willing to subdue my own thoughts for the well-being of our children. We have permitted our children to adopt Christianity because it is the religion of this country. Hence, influencing them to carry on their parents' religion would not only hinder their assimilation but also prevent them from developing a well-rounded character."²²

To recapitulate:—The prevalence of Buddhism among the Japanese Canadians is not, as some Whites have been disposed to think, the result of sinister designs on the part of the Japanese but the natural consequence of their education in Japan. Furthermore, the Buddhist Church in British Columbia is no longer Japanese, but a marginal institution which has lost many of the distinguishing characteristics of a Buddhist temple and has acquired some of the more

²²Interview with S. Koga, Port Haney, B.C., summer, 1934.

obvious features of a Christian church. Again, while the Buddhist Church retains a majority of the first generation, there is definite evidence that it is not holding the second generation Japanese who are either becoming Christian or are not affiliating with any organized religious group. And finally, owing to the natural appeal of the Christian Church for the second generation, it will probably become the dominant church among the Japanese Canadians, unless a crisis in their development should drive them back to the institutions of their forebears. It does not appear that the religious institutions of this immigrant group differ in any significant way from the religious institutions established in Canada by such immigrants as the Ukrainians and Poles from the continent of Europe.

III. SECULAR ORGANIZATIONS AND THE INSTITUTIONAL PATTERN

The Japanese come from a country in which community institutions other than those of a religious nature have attained a high degree of organized efficiency. No town or village in Japan is without its customary community associations formed by the various age and sex groups of the population, and few occupations are without some form of organized representation. This background is reflected in the mushroom growth of remarkably efficient associations of one kind or another among the Japanese in British Columbia. The extent to which these have developed, making Japanese-Canadian society an integrated entity is indicated by the fact that in 1934 there were at least 230 units of religious and secular associations for this small, recently established population group.

At the time of the Survey there were approximately 84 Japanese association units in Vancouver, representing over 37 per cent of all units in the Province in 1934. Nearly one-third of the Japanese population of the Province resided within the city's boundaries, and the larger population base of the Vancouver colony offered a more fertile soil for the development of these associations. The Vancouver associations differ in important respects from those to be found in the smaller communities. A whole class of associations do not emerge in the settlements outside of Vancouver since they cannot survive in the smaller immigrant colonies. Such, for example, are the "ken-jin-kai" or prefectural associations, whose membership is made up of immigrants from the same prefecture or province in Japan. Another distinguishing characteristic of the urban associations is their highly specialized nature, conspicuous in such trade associations as the barbers, rooming-house proprietors, and the B.C. Purchasers' Association, all of which reflect the complex division of labour of the metropolitan community and the capacity of the Japanese to adapt themselves to it. Associations are also specialized according to education, age, *etc.* All these associations, whether designated as trade or educational or for other purposes, are not necessarily concerned with these activities as their sole or their most important functions. All of them attempt to satisfy the psychological and social needs of their members as well as to attain the specific purposes for which they were ostensibly organized.

Other associations in the Japanese colony in Vancouver act as the organizing centres and institutional headquarters for the smaller associations scattered throughout the remaining settlements of the Province, and suggest the primary significance of this

particular colony in the social economy of the Japanese Canadians. They derive their existence from the fact that an immigrant colony in a metropolitan com-

JAPANESE ASSOCIATIONS IN VANCOUVER CITY

Province-wide associations	Prefectural associations	Trade associations
Canadian Japanese Association	Ehime-ken-jin-kai	Rooming House Proprietors
Camp and Mill Workers Association	Fukuoka-ken-jin-kai	Barber Shop Proprietors
Canadian Japanese Educational Association	Fukuoka-ken-(Y. Men's)	Restaurant Proprietors
Canadian Japanese Citizens' Association	Hiroshima-ken-jin-kai	Cleaning and Pressing Proprietors
Returned Soldiers Association	Kumamoto-ken-jin-kai	Merchants' Association
B.C. Purchasers' Association	Okayama-ken-jin-kai	Workingmen's Co-operative
Amalgamated Fishermen's Association	Shizuoka-ken-jin-kai	B.C. Purchasers
Religious associations*	Educational associations	Other associations
Buddhist churches (2)	Canadian Japanese Education Association	Japanese Clinic Committee
Buddhist adult associations (10)†	Japanese Grammar School Association	Flower Association
Buddhist children associations (2)	Igi-kai (financial support)	Friendly Love Association
Christian churches (6)‡	Parents' associations	Mikado Club
Christian adult associations (10)	Japanese Library	Mutual Understanding
Christian children associations (5)	Japanese Middle School	Showa Club
Tenrekyo associations (2)	Japanese Language Schools	
	Japanese Private School	
	United Church Night School	

*The numbers in brackets refer to the number of associations in each category.

†Adult associations in both the Buddhist and Christian groups include women's, young women's, men's, young men's and young people's associations.

‡The six Christian churches consist of two United Churches, and one each of the following: Anglican, Catholic, Salvation Army, and Four Square Gospel.

munity like Vancouver plays a dual role in the life of the group, not only providing the general services for resident constituents and others, but performing the distinctive function of acting as the brain centre for the whole immigrant group. There are at least seven inter-community Japanese associations and two newspapers located in the city, all of them with a constituency which is province-wide.

The most important of these major Japanese associations are described below.

The Canadian Japanese Association: incorporated under the Benevolent Societies Act, has over twenty affiliates in Vancouver and other communities, and a reputed paid-up membership of over 3,600 in 1935. Acts as a social, political, economic, and educational society for all Japanese Canadians.

The Camp and Mill Workers' Union: the Japanese affiliate of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, has eight locals, a reputed membership of over 600, a consumers' co-operative store, and an employment bureau. Works to improve the status of the workers, and to promote co-operation between Japanese and White labourers.

The Amalgamated Fishermen of B.C.: membership unknown but supported at one time by over 3,500 licensed Japanese fishermen. Organized to combat discrimination against the Japanese in the fishing industry, and later used to assist those expelled from the industry to find other employment.

The Japanese Canadian Citizens' League: membership unknown but it has the province-wide support of all Japanese, especially those who belong to the second generation. Works to establish goodwill between Canada and Japan, and to get the franchise for the second generation. Publishes a newspaper in English.

The Canadian Japanese Education Association: has approximately forty schools in the communities of the Province, supported by at least as many adult associations, and a school membership of over 3,200. Organized to teach the Japanese language and composition to the second generation.

The Japanese Returned Soldiers' Association: an affiliate of the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada, with a membership of 140 in 1934. Organized in 1926 to fight for the provincial franchise for Japanese veterans of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

Two of the above associations are of particular interest because they represent diverging tendencies in Japanese-Canadian society. These are the Canadian Japanese Association and the Camp and Mill Workers' Union. The Canadian Japanese Association was organized in 1897 with a membership of fifty, but did not become an authorized association until 1909. Its aim was to act as a social, political, economic, and educational society for the Japanese in Canada. In the early years of Japanese immigration it aided many to find positions and provided facilities for learning English customs and the English language. It endeavoured to maintain a high moral standard among the immigrants, a difficult task owing to the preponderance of males. In later years it encouraged the immigrants to become naturalized, fought for the franchise for naturalized and Canadian-born Japanese, and has been particularly prominent in combatting the efforts of White groups to discriminate against the Japanese. In January, 1934, it was re-organized and a programme launched to make it the integrating and co-ordinating agency for all Japanese associations. It appears to have had a fair measure of success. Of somewhat similar interests is the paper, the *Continental Daily News* which has a reputed circulation of over 3,000. Throughout its history it seems to have had very close relations with the Japanese consular authorities, deriving much of its prestige and influence in the Japanese-Canadian settlements from the privileges granted to it by the consuls.

While the Canadian Japanese Association has been defensive and has had a rather pronounced nationalistic bias, the Camp and Mill Workers' Union, has tended to move in the opposite direction by advocating co-operation with the Whites and internationalism. It was organized in 1920 for the purpose of promoting trade unionism among the Japanese in Canada and in

order to educate the immigrants to Western standards and customs. It began with one branch, having a membership of fifty, and a weekly newspaper and now has eight locals with a total membership of over 600. The weekly paper became the *People's Daily* in 1924. In 1927 the Union affiliated with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and in 1931 it was instrumental in having the Congress at their convention in Vancouver endorse the request of the second generation Japanese for "equality of treatment and full rights of citizenship".²³ The Union operates a co-operative retail store in Vancouver and an employment bureau free of charge to all applicants. Its leadership is opposed to the federalist ambitions of the Canadian Japanese Association and to its separatist, pro-Japanese tendencies. It feels that since the future of the Japanese in Canada depends on full co-operation with the Whites, the Japanese cannot begin to work jointly with them too soon.

The associations in the Japanese settlements outside of Vancouver differ in one or two important respects from those in the city. In the first place, there are fewer association units per thousand of the Japanese population in the smaller communities since only 63 per cent of the associations in the Province have to cater to the needs of over two-thirds of the total population. In the second place, the smaller number of associations per thousand of population in the settlements has required a consequent diversification in the functions of the individual associations. Whereas in Vancouver one association may consist of the representatives of a highly specialized occupational group and serve a very specific and limited

²³Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, *Report of the Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention held at the City of Vancouver, B.C., Sept. 21st to 25th (inclusive), 1931*, pp. 152-3.

purpose, as, for example, the barbers' association, in the smaller communities even the trade associations of the farmers or fishermen cater not only to the peculiar needs of the trade representatives but function for the community as a whole. Such is essentially the case with all the associations in the smaller communities though none of them has as extensive functions or as great responsibilities as the major trade associations.

JAPANESE ASSOCIATIONS OUTSIDE OF VANCOUVER

Institutional grouping	Associations	Number of association units	Number of members
I. Major community associations, usually a trade organization with the dual function of trade representation and community leadership.	Farmers	17	632
	Fishermen	4	1,528
	Camp and Mill Workers	7	100
	Canadian Japanese Association	3	100
II. Religious associations, either Buddhist or Christian, as a rule, though there is one unit of the Tenrekyo religion.	Buddhist Mission	7	865
	Buddhist associations	7*	296†
	Christian Mission	18	572
	Christian associations	43	1,331
	Tenrekyo	1	33
III. Associations organized on the basis of age and sex, either by parents for self-improvement and the welfare of their children, or by young men and women for social activities.	Parents'	9	261
	Mothers'	2	50
	Womens'	12	771‡
	Young men's	12	347‡
	Young women's	2	52‡
	Y.M. and Y.W.	1	10
	Second Generation	2	45
IV. Miscellaneous organizations.	Clubs, etc.	19	1,756§
	Schools	40	3,280||

*Does not include Sunday Schools.

†Total is for only 6 of the 7 organizations.

‡Women's, young men's, and young women's associations connected with churches are also included here.

§One prefectural association accounts for nearly half of the 1,756.

|| Each school has a supporting association of adults not included in the above table.

In studying the secular associations in these smaller communities, it is possible to discern the outlines of a rather general institutional pattern for the average Japanese-Canadian settlement. At the top of these associations are the trade organizations, consisting of the adult males in the dominant local industry and performing simultaneously the dual functions of an occupational organization and a community council. In a fishing village like Steveston or a farming community like Port Haney, there are, respectively, a Fishermen's and a Farmer's association. The more obvious function of these associations is the protection of the occupational interests of the Japanese in the community which, in these single industry communities, means practically all the Japanese. They have worked effectively when provincial authorities have attempted to restrict the area of Japanese competition in the different industries. As associations within which practically all the gainfully employed, adult Japanese males are organized, they function also in the interest of the general welfare of the Japanese section of the larger community. They may build a hospital for the use of their people, assist Japanese educational associations, give moral and financial support to sport among the second generation, or establish subsidiary organizations for the guidance of the second generation when the latter seem unable to cope with the particularly difficult problems which confront them. Moreover, in times of crisis, these associations speak for the Japanese section of the community as a whole. The assumption of this broader function by the trade organizations is almost inevitable because the Japanese are usually only a small section of a predominantly White community and would be without organized leadership if the trade organizations did not provide it.

The women's and young men's associations are definitely subordinate to the adult male organizations. The women's associations consist of the wives of the men in the trade organizations but their activities are confined to the area of labour within which they work as housewives and mothers. They appear to provide the same services that women's associations, the "fujin-kai", render in Japan, except that in British Columbia their members have interested themselves in the methods of cooking and housekeeping peculiar to the Canadian scene. One of the most important activities has been the supervision and support of the kindergartens in which the Japanese children of pre-school age make their first formal acquaintance with the English language. The young men's associations also appear to be a relic of institutional life in the homeland, except that in Canada they have lost some of their activities, such as the responsibility for fighting fires, the annual village clean-up campaign, and the like. They are intended for the same age group, males between seventeen and twenty-five, and like their prototypes in Japan have a programme of lectures, debates, social activities, and sports. There is a tendency for the religious groups to duplicate these and other associations.

The Japanese in British Columbia present a picture of a remarkably efficient and strongly cohesive institutional structure. Organization protects their welfare on the one hand but it gives rise on the other to a widespread suspicion that the institutional solidarity and efficiency of the Japanese is the reflection of a centralized control. One of the more outspoken opponents of the Japanese in British Columbia implies this in the following criticism:

Canadians should never forget that a large proportion of Japanese immigrants to Canada are ex-soldiers and sailors, many of

whom have seen active service and are of the military Samurai class, and that the army and navy are exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Emperor, the Japanese Parliament exercising little or no control. Recent events in Manchuria throw a sinister light on this subject. It is one of the many reasons why thinking men in British Columbia are so apprehensive about the activities of the Japanese fisheries, canneries and salteries, all manned and officered exclusively by Japanese. Observers of current events are aware that the national genius that governed the Manchurian adventure directs the peaceful penetration into Canada, only the weapons are different.²⁴

The Japanese, however, do not differ from other immigrant groups in the essential characteristics of their institutional life and social organization. Most immigrant groups are strongly nationalistic and give expression to their patriotic sentiments in group activities which retain symbolic aspects of the culture they have left in their homeland. They tend to reproduce in the New World the distinguishing characteristics of the society in which they were brought up. The Japanese family groups, religious institutions, and community organizations reproduce many of the characteristics of the feudal type of social organization which persists even in modern Japan. They have done the same thing on the Pacific coast of the United States, and have aroused the same suspicions which have developed north of the Canadian border.

The Japanese is a born cooperator. Centuries of team work under feudal discipline have made him an efficient cog in a machine. They have trained him also to take orders from a superior rather than to stand on his own feet. That is why the Japanese in America stick together in colonies. It is also the basis of the Japanese Association of the Pacific Coast. This organization does much of the thinking and guiding of the immigrants, from methods of agriculture and child nurture to legal advice and help in getting

²⁴C. E. Hope and W. K. Earle, "The Oriental Threat" (*Maclean's Magazine*, May 1, 1933, pp. 12, 54-5).

passports. This social solidarity and dependence upon paternalistic leadership has retarded the assimilation of the Japanese in America. It has also provoked friction and suspicion among Americans who from the background of their own individualistic social order interpret this group functioning of the Japanese as evidence of political control from Tokyo.²⁵

While the solidarity of the Japanese may be a result to a certain extent of this cultural background, it is also undoubtedly a result of the well-meant intervention of the consular authorities. The intrusion of the accredited representatives of Japan in the affairs of the Japanese in British Columbia is a common complaint of those Whites who are strongly opposed to the Japanese. The intervention of which they complain has been based on the attitude of Japan towards Japanese who settle in foreign lands. Until 1924, Japan exercised a degree of control over Japanese residing in Canada by virtue of the dual citizenship of many immigrants. She continues to exercise such control over Canadian citizens of Japanese origin who have not renounced their citizenship in Japan. In addition, Japan retains a paternalistic interest in those of her citizens in Canada who have never become Canadian citizens. She is legally justified in doing so by virtue of the conditions of the treaty between Canada and Japan which have made it possible for citizens of the latter to reside in the Dominion, and for Japan to intervene legitimately on their behalf. It is a matter of record that Japan has seen fit to do so in the past. Finally, there appears to be no doubt as to consular intervention of a more extensive nature than the above with reference to all classes of Japanese, involving the accumulation of comprehensive data on the Japanese in British Columbia and material influence on the people by means of indirect contact

²⁵Fairchild, *Immigrant Backgrounds*, p. 190.

with them through the Canadian Japanese Association and other agencies.

It is questionable, however, whether the relationship is subversive of Canadian interests. It is a consequence, rather, of Japan's traditional feudalism, and it has found specific expression in British Columbia because of the criticism and discrimination to which individuals of Japanese origin have been subjected. Even with the intervention of Japan in British Columbia, individuals of Japanese extraction have received scant justice from the Whites. On the other hand, Japanese policy has been unfortunate because it has created the suspicion of Tokyo control of Japanese-Canadian affairs and has naturally prejudiced the position of the Japanese in the Province.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE JAPANESE AND WHITE CANADIANS

I. THE IMMIGRANTS AND THE WHITES: THE FIRST GENERATION

JANUS-LIKE, an immigrant group faces two ways at one and the same time. With relatives, friends, and objects of childhood attachment still in the homeland, the immigrants look with longing towards the past. The present gets its share of attention because life for the impoverished immigrants is a continuous struggle for a better standard of living and a higher social status in the New World. This fight for self-improvement involves the immigrants in many and varied contacts with White Canadians in the larger community about them. These contacts with the native population may be considered in terms of the two major age groups in the Japanese population: the first generation or the parents, and the second generation or the children. The contacts of each are with distinctively separate sections of the Canadian community and occur under entirely different circumstances. The first generation were first on the scene and the consequences of their unhappy relations with the White Canadians have set the stage for the contacts, and determined the nature of those of the second generation with the White-Canadian community at a later date.

The first generation Japanese break through the barrier of their Japanese-Canadian culture into the life of the larger community for the most part at secondary points. Generally speaking, these contacts of the first generation with the Whites are confined to

occupational situations. Associations of a strictly social nature, such as are enjoyed by the second generation Japanese in school and on the playground, are denied the great majority of the older Japanese because of the language handicap as well as the desire of both the Japanese and the White adults to fraternize with people of their own race and class. The contacts of the Japanese immigrants with White adults are virtually confined to the occupations in which they work together, and the older Japanese, therefore, are known intimately only, or for the most part, by those Whites.

The entire White community's early and continuing knowledge of the Japanese depends on the extent and character of the relations between those members of the two races who work in the same occupations. The relationship between workers is generally competitive. Workers compete for the air they breathe, the space they occupy, and more important than these, the positions they have. Personal antagonism may very easily develop even where Whites compete with Whites. When the competitors are racially different, their association seems almost inevitably destined to be characterized by conflict, as has been the case between the Japanese and the Whites in British Columbia, and, indeed, in many other parts of the world.

The Japanese began as impersonal competitors of the Whites in a few industries shortly after their arrival in Canada. As more and more Japanese entered an increasing number of industries and competition increased, feeling between the two groups became personal and bitter. It broke out first into open conflict in the Vancouver Riot in 1907. It flared up again in a more significant manner at the conclusion of the Great War when returning soldiers

found their jobs filled by immigrants from the Orient. Resentment against White competitors in the post-war reaction against "slackers" and "profiteers" followed the displacement of soldiers who had served at "the front" by civilian competitors. This seemed particularly unjust when the competitors were Japanese. To the returned soldier the Japanese was a "foreigner" who had no right to be in the country and, certainly, none at all to be in a favoured position in its most important industries, solely because he had a chance to improve his economic position while the Whites served in France.

The bitter feeling against the Japanese soon spread from the few industries in which it arose, and therein lies its importance. The Whites who lose out in competition with the Japanese take their case to the larger White community by means of newspapers, meetings, and organizations, through which they air their grievances and demand protection against the foreign-born, alien labourers, fishermen, or business men with a low standard of living, who are depriving good, native-born White citizens of their jobs. With conspicuous exceptions these Whites, and those who sympathize with them, are the only persons in the community who speak or write on either side of the Japanese question, since they are the only persons who feel so strongly on the subject that they insist on expressing their views. Public opinion concerning the Japanese in British Columbia and throughout Canada is, therefore, largely determined by the attitudes and opinions of a minority of Whites who meet and deal with the Japanese in occupational situations on a conflict basis. As Walter Lippmann has shown,¹ public opinion resolves itself upon examination into

¹Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922).

the opinions held by interest groups within the general public.

In the early years, organized labour objected strenuously to the admission of Japanese immigrants, witness the agitation which preceded and followed the Vancouver Riot. Labour was then the militant antagonist of the Japanese because the latter were enjoying unrestricted competition in fishing, lumbering, mining, and railroad construction work. Other classes in the community were only mildly opposed or were indifferent to the influx of the Japanese. The commercial, financial, and employer section of the community as a whole did not object to Japanese immigrants, and in some cases they actually welcomed them and facilitated their migration to the Dominion. This attitude is indicated, for example, in Lieutenant-Governor Dunsmuir's contract with the Nippon Supply Company for miners, or in the arrangements made by the Canadian Pacific Railroad for construction workers with the same agents.

But labour is no longer antagonistic. In recent years a Canadian Trades and Labor Congress convention held in Vancouver passed a resolution requesting the Government of British Columbia to amend the Provincial Elections Act to ensure that "every native-born Canadian shall receive equality of treatment and full rights of citizenship", and another that the Government of Canada be petitioned "to the end that the applications for naturalization by Japanese may be considered and treated on an equal basis with the applications of other aliens".² What had happened to labour? A Trades and Labor Congress representative in Vancouver claimed that discrimination

²Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, *Report of the Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention held at the City of Vancouver, B.C., Sept. 21st to 25th (inclusive), 1931*, pp. 191-2.

against the Japanese, which they had fostered for years, was unsuccessful. The farmers were willing to fight the Japanese as farm owners but they wanted to use them as farm labourers. Employers in other industries were in a similar position. The result was that labour found itself fighting the battles of all groups save its own, which it had to fight alone. It came to the conclusion that the solution of the problem was to invite the Japanese to become partners in its fight for higher wages and a shorter working week. By raising the standard of living of the Japanese they hoped to reduce their advantage in competition. So labour now fights for the economic and political rights of the Japanese.

Labour is no longer the principal group suffering from competition with the Japanese. Labour now receives protection in some industries in which competition with the Japanese was formerly very keen. Even more important than this protection is the fact that the Japanese are moving out of certain industries as labour and are becoming a proprietor group for both voluntary and compulsory reasons. Labourers were closely dependent on the canneries in the early years, but for over two decades the Japanese have been fishermen in their own right and proprietors of their boats and fishing equipment. Moreover, they are also farm owners on a significant scale in the Fraser Valley, and are making progress towards independence as farmers in the Okanagan Valley. In Vancouver, also, and in other urban centres they are found in increasing numbers in different commercial enterprises. In short, the economic pressure whether in fishing, lumbering, mining, or railroad construction, is now off labour and has been transferred to the farmers and small business group.

The significant thing about the change is that these

more recent White competitors of the Japanese are acting exactly as labour formerly did and are militant agitators against the Japanese, writing letters to newspapers, articles for magazines, and sending petitions to Parliament, content with nothing short of wholesale discrimination. They are not talking about helping the Japanese to a higher standard of living as the solution of the problem. The White Canada Association³ in British Columbia, the most dogged antagonist of the Japanese, has on its Executive Committee as representatives of this group, members of the Retailer's Association, the Fishermen's Protective Association, the Cloverdale Farmers' Association, and a farm engineer and dealer in rural real estate.

Labour, then farmers, fishermen, and small business men, and now financial and entrepreneur groups have been affected each in turn by the influence of the Japanese on their economic and social status. It is more than a coincidence that it is almost impossible to find a provincially-known figure in the industrial or financial worlds who is associated with the anti-Japanese movement. Their membership is not in organizations like the White Canada Association but in the Japan Society, an organization of prominent White business men which has as its objective the improvement of relations between the Japanese, whether in Canada or Japan, and the Canadian people. The executive head of this organization in 1934 was a prominent banker of Vancouver, and his predecessor was the manager of one of the largest lumbering companies in the Province. The Secretary was an important official of a publishing company, and the remaining members appeared to have economic standing in the community. What moves this group of

³C. E. Hope, Secretary, White Canada Association, Interview, summer, 1934.

financiers and industrialists to positive friendship and co-operation with the Japanese when business men in more modest enterprises, as well as farmers, are actively opposed to them? Apart from the native altruism of some of these men, two other factors should be given weight. First, the members of the group are not directly affected by Japanese competition and the Japanese Canadians do not constitute a domestic problem for them. Again, as a group interested in international trade, these men look on the Japanese as representatives of a great power in the Orient affording British Columbia a market of unknown potentialities. In fact, they appear to be friendly with the Japanese for the same reasons that made the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce oppose the passage of the anti-Alien Land Law in California in 1921 when the sentiment of the State was very strongly for it.

Leading professionals in the educational and religious institutions also sympathize with the Japanese. Like the business group, though for other reasons, they have done much to interpret them to the rest of the community. They are, indeed, the only group which gives evidence of being objectively aware of all the factors in the situation. One must, however, distinguish between the religious leaders and the general mass of nominal Christians in the churches of the Province. Japanese of the second generation who have visited White congregations in Vancouver state that they are now returning to the Japanese Mission churches because they feel that they are not wanted among the White Christians. This feeling may be due in part to the fact that a racial minority which has been rather consistently subjected to discrimination becomes over-sensitive, but it is probably justified in the majority of cases, especially since

Japan embarked on her aggressive campaign of expansion on the Asiatic mainland. The rather definite implications of Christianity on the question of race relations do not appear to influence very materially the attitudes or behaviour of White adherents of the church.

The trends of public opinion in British Columbia on the Japanese question vary from group to group in terms of the contacts and relations which they have with the Japanese both here and abroad. Those explicitly hostile include the White fishermen, though not as much as formerly, the farmers, and the small business men or, in other words, all those who bear the brunt of competition with them. Allied with these in exhibiting a more qualified antagonism are the patriotic organizations such as the Native Sons of British Columbia and the Native Sons of Canada. Labour is no longer opposed to the Japanese but its conversion is of recent date and perhaps of uncertain duration. As checks to the anti-Japanese groups, there are the financial and industrial leaders of the Province, and a minority of prominent educators and clergymen who, with their prestige in the community, materially offset the more vociferous, militantly hostile, anti-Japanese element. The rest of the community while only mildly averse to the Japanese at the present time or rather indifferent, might be expected in the event of a crisis involving a decision on the Japanese to align themselves with those who are definitely opposed to them.

The Japanese situation in British Columbia has many parallels to the racial situation on the Pacific Coast of the United States. According to the *Tentative Findings of the Survey of Race Relations . . . of the Orientals on the Pacific Coast* (1925): "The business competitors, the labor unions, the small

farmers, the American Legion, and the Native Sons are, for various economic and political reasons traditionally opposed to the Oriental, while commercial firms trading with the Orient, the larger employer, Americanization schools, and the Christian Church are traditionally friendly to the Oriental" (pp. 19-20). The excerpt indicates the striking similarity in grouping and suggests that the parallel is more than a coincidence. It means that White Americans and White Canadians in similar groups react in the same manner to the Japanese in the measure in which their economic and social status in the community is affected by them.

The contacts of the first generation Japanese were confined to occupational situations in which their relations with the Whites were essentially of a competitive and frequently of a conflict nature. Only a small minority of the total population meets the Japanese under these circumstances, but they broadcast their opinions more aggressively than do the small group of educational, industrial, and religious leaders who meet them under other circumstances and who view them in a more sympathetic light. The community at large, therefore, cannot know the Japanese by first-hand contact and has to learn about them from their militant antagonists. So the White community for the most part has no alternative but to regard the Japanese as a group which threatens not only the few Whites who suffer from their direct competition but also the welfare of the community as a whole. When this stage is reached, the White antagonists secure a favourable hearing at the court of public opinion when they seek encouragement and protection from the White community. Such support is necessary because protection is ultimately legislative, and legislative action is dependent upon a

much larger section of the White community than that which is directly affected by competition with the Japanese. In this way the informal antagonism between the Japanese immigrants and their White competitors, generated in occupational contacts and diffused throughout the community by the Whites affected, becomes crystallized in legal measures which attempt to restrict the economic activities of the Japanese and their participation in the public affairs of the community.

The first effort in the early nineties to obtain legislation to check the influx of the Japanese failed because there was not sufficient backing at that time in British Columbia. Other measures followed in rapid succession at the turn of the century when the Japanese began to enter the country in numbers and to make their presence felt in fishing, lumbering, and mining, but these were almost entirely abortive inasmuch as they consisted of a series of Acts by the Legislature of British Columbia designed to restrict the immigration of the Japanese or to exclude them from the country. They were disallowed by the Dominion Government or the Privy Council on the grounds that they were outside the jurisdiction of the provincial government to enact, either because they dealt with immigration or were contrary to British, and later, Canadian, treaty relations with the Japanese Empire. One measure, however, was passed in 1902, the object of which was to disfranchise British citizens of Asiatic origin in the Province of British Columbia. This was upheld by the Privy Council. Canadian-born Japanese and Japanese from Japan ceased to have the right to vote in British Columbia, though they may vote in almost all of the other provinces of the Dominion. The validation of this

Act has become most significant in the subsequent development of the Japanese.

When the disqualification was imposed, the only Japanese who were excluded from the franchise were those who had acquired by naturalization in Canada the right to be treated as British subjects while in Canada. In 1914, however, it became possible for foreigners in Canada to acquire British nationality permanently. Since the measure was validated in 1902, thousands of Japanese have acquired Canadian nationality by birth in Canada, and, as a result, exclusion from the franchise affects the great majority of the Japanese in British Columbia. A concession in the direction of enfranchisement was made to Japanese soldiers who served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France. About 197 Japanese enlisted, of whom 54 were killed in action.⁴ In 1917 the War Times' Election Act permitted all soldiers regardless of race to vote, but only for the duration of the war. In 1919, the Dominion Election Act was amended to permit any returned soldier to vote in federal elections, and Japanese-Canadian veterans of the Great War have thus been permitted to vote federally in all provinces of the Dominion outside of British Columbia. It took the Japanese veterans over a decade, with the support of the Great War Veterans of British Columbia, to get permission to vote in provincial or federal elections in British Columbia. Permission was finally obtained in 1931, by a margin of one vote in the provincial Legislature, and less than eighty Japanese were affected by it at that time.

Exclusion of the great majority of the Japanese from the franchise in British Columbia is important because it involves not only denial of the right to

⁴Japanese Consulate-General, *Facts about Japanese in Canada* (Ottawa, 1922), p. 17.

vote in provincial elections but also exclusion from a whole series of activities in the political and economic life of the Province. Absence of their names from the provincial voters' list excludes them from nomination as candidates for the provincial Legislature, prevents them from voting in federal elections, from voting in a municipal election or holding a municipal office, from voting for school trustees or being elected as school trustees, and from doing jurors' duty. They are not disqualified from membership in the Canadian House of Commons or the Senate. The voters' list is also used as an indirect means of excluding them from certain professions. British subjects of Asiatic race are excluded from the professions of law and pharmacy by the rules of the Law Society of British Columbia and the pharmacy bye-laws, respectively, which limit enrolment as a student-at-law and articulated clerk, in the former, and registration as a certified apprentice in the latter, to those who would, if of the age of twenty-one years, be entitled to be placed on the Voters' List under the Provincial Elections Act.

Restrictions affecting the Japanese in earning a living are of a more direct and specific nature. They are excluded by law from employment on timber leases and from obtaining licences as hand loggers, and by the terms of provincial public works contracts, from employment by a Government contractor. It is a recognized general policy to exclude them from employment in provincial or municipal services or as school teachers. A large number of Japanese have been eliminated from the fishing industry by reduction in the number of licences granted to the Japanese, and from lumbering by the Minimum Wage Law of British Columbia. While these restrictions are numerous and important, they do not preclude the Japanese

from earning a living in the Province. They mean that non-Asiatics engaged in certain occupations have managed to protect themselves against a form of economic competition which they dislike, and have shifted the burden to other occupational groups in the community.⁵

The antagonism shown towards this comparatively small group has been so strong that successive governments would have handled the situation with little or no consideration for the feelings of the Japanese in the Province but for the fact that the Dominion Government, on the whole, has been a deterrent to unnecessarily drastic action. The British North America Act does not permit the Legislature of British Columbia to deal with the immigration aspect of the problem, nor with those features of the question which involve the Japanese as resident aliens protected by treaty commitments between Canada and the Japanese Empire. These limitations are now less important because the immigration phase of the problem has been disposed of for a period by the latest modification of the Gentlemen's Agreement which lowered the quota to one hundred and fifty immigrants per year. Moreover, the great majority of the Japanese are citizens of the Dominion either by birth or naturalization, and are subject to provincial or federal control and beyond treaty protection by Japan. Latterly, therefore, the provincial Legislature has operated within a less circumscribed sphere of influence, and its measures have not been conspicuously successful either in satisfying the demands of the Whites or in allaying the fears of the Japanese. They have been limited in scope, forcing the Japanese out of one

⁵We are greatly indebted to Professor H. F. Angus of the University of British Columbia for the data on the legal status of the Japanese in the Province.

industry into others. They have been irritating because they have been so obviously discriminatory in spite of the indirect manner in which they have been applied.

II. SECOND GENERATION CONTACTS WITH OTHER CANADIANS

The initial and perhaps the most important contacts of the second generation Japanese with White Canadians are within the school and on the playground. Fortunately these enable the younger generation for a short period to meet the Whites under much happier circumstances than their fathers have ever known; in a social setting in which the competitive element is minimal; and at a time when the antipathetic indoctrination of the White children is not too far advanced. It is fortunate also for the Canadian community, because the school invariably proves to be its most effective means of assimilating the immigrants and their descendants. A paradoxical situation arises. The immigrant may adhere with almost passionate loyalty to the country from which he has come and may cling to the more distinctive aspects of its culture, but he almost invariably wants his children to have an education. The Japanese immigrants, blamed for loyalty to the land of their birth, nevertheless take advantage of the opportunities presented by educational institutions to an extent probably unsurpassed by any other immigrant group in the Dominion.

Between 1922 and 1932, enrolment of Japanese in the provincial schools jumped from 1,422 pupils to 4,702, an increase of 230 per cent, or over ten times the increase of all groups in the Province for the same period, which was only 22 per cent. It is true that a

large number of children came with the immigrants, and that all of the immigrants were of child-bearing age when they arrived. It was, therefore, to be expected that once the Japanese began sending their children to school the rate of increase in the enrolment would be striking. These factors being admitted, we cannot ignore the fact that the large number of Japanese in the schools and the rapid rate of their enrolment indicate wholesale participation in the educational life of the Province.

The extent to which the Japanese avail themselves of the educational facilities of British Columbia is brought out clearly in the number of pupils attending and graduating from High, commercial, and technical schools, where the element of official compulsion is

JAPANESE ATTENDING AND GRADUATING FROM SCHOOLS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA,* 1935

Institution	District	Total attended	Total graduated	Per cent graduated
Elementary	Vancouver	1,280	1,073	83.9
	Rest of B.C.	1,561	1,123	70.7
	Total	2,841	2,196	74.7
High	Vancouver	281	157	55.8
	Rest of B.C.	326	161	49.5
	Total	607	318	52.4
Commercial	Vancouver	70	52	74.3
	Rest of B.C.	19	11	58.0
	Total	89	63	70.8
Technical	Vancouver	47	24	51.0
	Rest of B.C.	29	16	55.2
	Total	76	40	52.7
Others	Vancouver	15	11	73.3
	Rest of B.C.	15	9	60.0
	Total	30	20	66.6

*Canadian Japanese Association, *Survey of the Second Generation of Japanese in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1935), p. 13.

greatly reduced or entirely absent. A large number of Japanese not only go on to the more advanced schools but also a high percentage graduate from them. The proportion of second generation Japanese attending advanced schools in the rural districts is noticeably smaller than in Vancouver since there are no commercial or technical schools in the rural districts, and higher education entails greater sacrifice on the part of the parents living there (see pp. 212-14).

Japanese appreciation of higher education is even more marked in the colleges. In 1934-5, out of an approximate 4,000 second generation Japanese in British Columbia between the ages of fifteen and nineteen, 32 or 0.8 per cent had attended the University of British Columbia up to that time.⁶ In the same year, of an approximate 178,000 people in British Columbia between the same ages,⁷ 1,752 or 0.99 per cent had attended the same University.⁸ The percentage of second generation Japanese was not much below the percentage for the whole Province, a remarkable achievement considering the economic position of their parents. These parents included four fishermen, two farmers, two gardeners, two coal miners, two tailors and dressmakers, two lumbermill workers, and seven confectioners. Of the 32 graduates of the University, seventeen have their Bachelor of Arts degree; eight are Bachelors of Agriculture, Commerce, or Science; three are Doctors of Divinity, Medicine, and Philosophy, respectively; and the remaining four have degrees of intermediate standing. Approximately 16 of these graduates are now in Canada, the rest being in Japan, Manchukuo, China, or the United States. What is true of the Japanese

⁶Records of the Japanese Students' Club, University of British Columbia.

⁷*Census of Canada*, 1931, pp. 270-1.

⁸University of British Columbia, *Calendar*, 1935-36, p. 252.

in Canada in respect of education is equally true of the Japanese in the United States. The United States Race Relations Survey in 1925 reported that "the Japanese are very eager to give their children an education—if possible to send them to college".

The intelligence of the Japanese, as compared with other racial groups in the Province, was the object of a study undertaken in 1925 in a *Survey of the School System of British Columbia* by J. H. Putman and G. M. Weir. Performance tests were used on 155 Chinese and 150 Japanese pupils in the public schools. The investigator, Dr. Peter Sandiford of the College of Education of the University of Toronto, arrived at the conclusion that "the Japanese are superior to the Chinese and both are greatly superior to the average White population. . . . The theoretical median score of White pupils is 100 and the middle half of the scores range from Q 92 to Q 108. The median scores for Chinese pupils is 107.9; for Japanese 113. Three quarters of the Japanese exceed a score of 100, while only one-half of the Whites exceed this score."⁹ The findings cannot be regarded as conclusive. The project suffered from a serious limitation in that comparison was not made with a group of White pupils in British Columbia but with a "theoretical White group" in the eastern United States, on the basis of whose performance the tests had been standardized. The investigator's assumption that the White group in the eastern United States was inferior to Whites on the Pacific Coast would throw further doubt on the conclusions derived from the use of the tests on the Japanese and Chinese. The same tests were given to White pupils in British Columbia in 1933 by an assistant of the investigator of 1925, and the results showed

⁹J. H. Putman and G. M. Weir, *Survey of the School System* (Victoria, 1925), p. 508.

no material difference in the intelligence rating of the Orientals and the Whites.¹⁰ An American scholar summarizes various efforts to determine the comparative intelligence of the Japanese and Whites in the United States by saying that they provide no evidence to indicate a difference in the intelligence of the two groups.¹¹

On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt the good standing of the Japanese in both scholarship and deportment in the schools of British Columbia. Correspondence with nine elementary and six High schools in Vancouver and in representative areas of the Province show agreement on a number of significant points. Japanese pupils are uniformly regarded as inferior to the White pupils in subjects which involve a knowledge of English idiom, such as composition, oral reading, and similar subjects. In mechanical subjects like writing, drawing, and arithmetic, however, the Japanese are superior to the Whites. Their standing on all subjects is generally equal, and in some schools, superior to that of the Whites. The opinions are almost unanimous that the Japanese children are much superior to the Whites in deportment. Their attendance and punctuality, for example, are above average, and they are conspicuously industrious, neat, and orderly.

The presence of language schools in the Japanese settlements in British Columbia, designed to give the second generation a knowledge of the Japanese language has given rise to criticism from White Canadians. An official Japanese report on these schools, dated October, 1933, states that there were 32 Japanese Language Schools in twenty-eight communities in

¹⁰Interview with Mr. Straight, Bureau of Measurements, Board of School Trustees, Vancouver, summer, 1934.

¹¹Donald R. Taft, *Human Migration* (New York, 1936), p. 490.

British Columbia with a total of 2,813 pupils.¹² In these schools, 111 classes were taught by 72 Japanese teachers for an average of less than two hours a day for nearly five days each week. The courses of instruction were "strictly limited to reading, writing, dictation, and composition in the Japanese language". The report states that \$39,000 was collected from the Japanese communities in British Columbia and expended on these schools during the preceding year. The Whites object to these classes on the grounds that they conflict with, and hinder the programme of the public school because they involve additional work for one or two hours every school day for the Japanese children. The extra work taxes the strength of the children and injures their health. They contend that the language schools are an organized attempt to keep the children Japanese, thereby preventing them from becoming loyal Canadians. The recent *Survey of the Second Generation* by the Canadian Japanese Association indicates that there is real weight to the first two criticisms. The chief objection of the Whites, however, is on patriotic grounds. They resent the existence of the language schools as a result of the natural affection for, and loyalty to, Japanese culture by adult members of this immigrant group. Foreign language schools, however, are not the exception in foreign-born groups but the rule, and show a normal group behaviour.

The Japanese claim that "in teaching Japanese to the children, we are conscientiously avoiding anything that may interfere with or retard their espousal of

¹²According to the *Survey of the Second Generation of Japanese in British Columbia* by the Canadian Japanese Association (Vancouver, 1935), these totals had increased to 40 schools with an attendance of 3,283, as compared with an attendance of 4,902 in the English schools (pp. 11-15).

Canadian ideals and loyalty".¹³ They argue that the children should know the language of their parents in order to have discipline maintained in the home. A further point stressed by the second generation is that since the Japanese are discriminated against and hindered from obtaining jobs in the White community, they are compelled to look for work in the Japanese settlements and are, therefore, obliged to know Japanese. Moreover, the parents learn of Canada in part through their children, and if they are to acquire this knowledge it must be through the medium of the only language with which the adults are familiar. Finally, they claim that a knowledge of the Japanese language is advantageous for trade with the Orient which is still in its infancy and likely to become very great. These reasons may justify but it is doubtful if they explain the fundamental reason for the existence of the schools. We must recognize and accept the fact that the Japanese immigrants are no more anxious to have children in their homes strangers to the things which they hold sacred than are the immigrants of any other race or nationality.

The suspicions of the more sensitive Whites in British Columbia have been further aroused by the Japanese practice of sending children to Japan for their primary and secondary education. According to the *Survey of the Second Generation* by the Canadian Japanese Association,¹⁴ 839 second generation Japanese out of 10,774 now residing in Canada were educated in Japan, or about 8 per cent of the total. Eighty per cent of the 839 who were educated in Japan had received only a public school training and "their out-

¹³The material in this and preceding paragraphs on the Japanese Language Schools is based on pamphlet material prepared by Mr. T. Sato, Principal of the Japanese Language School, Vancouver, May, 1926.

¹⁴Canadian Japanese Association, *Survey of the Second Generation*, p. 14.



Playmates.



Japanese Language School,
Vancouver.



Second Generation Japanese,
B.C.



Japanese - Canadian
students on a swim-
ming party, North
Vancouver.

Second Generation
Japanese playing baseball,
Summerland, B.C.



look on life would not be solidified enough to hinder their acculturation to Canadian life, if placed in a proper environment. A greater proportion of those who have received a high degree of education in Japan have been found to be continuing their studies in the higher institutions of learning in British Columbia." The criticism of the practice has been that like the language schools it is anti-Canadian. The defence of the Japanese is that Japanese schools are superior to those in Canada. It is difficult to say whether this has any basis in fact or is merely the rationalization of a natural affection for Japan and things Japanese.

The school is significant not only as the place in which the second generation Japanese acquire a definite knowledge of Canadian culture but also as the situation in which they have contacts of a more or less pleasant nature with White-Canadian children. Studies in racial attitudes have shown that the most pleasant contacts between persons of different racial groups occur in childhood before the individuals have acquired the prejudices of the adults in the groups to which they belong.¹⁵ The school provides an ideal setting in which such contacts may occur because it makes legitimate associations between the children of different groups against which the parents might otherwise rebel. In the case of the Japanese the school setting has been doubly ideal for the stimulation of pleasant contacts, because the teachers disclose a genuine liking for their Japanese pupils, partly perhaps, because the ingrained obedience of the Japanese children appeals to the professional susceptibilities of the average teacher. A few of the outstanding champions of the Japanese come from this professional group. The attitudes of the White children to their Japanese classmates appear to be equally pleasant,

¹⁵Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (New York, 1929).

especially in the elementary schools and in the urban communities. In some rural communities and company towns, where the Japanese are more segregated than in other parts of the Province, the children of both groups keep to themselves. These cases appear to be exceptional. Generally speaking, the relations between the children of the two groups are fairly harmonious and provide the only compensating contacts which the majority of the Japanese have with the Whites.

As the children approach adolescence and adulthood, however, new factors enter to disturb the relative harmony of the years in the elementary school. The older children in both groups become rather definitely inoculated with the prejudices of their parents and are increasingly race conscious. Moreover, for the first time, the colour line is very definitely drawn when the boys and girls in High school reach the age where they acquire an interest in individuals of the opposite sex. Both Japanese and White adolescents know that they have to risk the loss of the good opinions of parents and friends if they "step out" with a friend of another racial group. A Japanese student thus sensitively contrasts his childhood and adolescence:

My childhood I passed as a Canadian, impervious to the external forces that would have made me otherwise. Public school, in which the greater part of my hours were spent, accomplished its objective, more or less thoroughly to make me a normal Canadian child. I remember singing with native pride "Oh, Canada" and "The Maple Leaf Forever", for Canada was the country of my birth.

Outside of public school, where my playmates were of both European and Japanese origin, I played as any normal Canadian plays, the games of "Pom-Pom-Pull-Away", "Run, Sheep Run", and many others. Home, to which I returned for food and shelter, books, magazines, and funny pictures, all in the English language, imperceptibly moulded me to think as did those people who haunted these storied pages.

My parents too, fortunately or unfortunately, as you may choose, had adopted the Christian religion. Except, perhaps, for their language and food, they acted as any other normal Canadian parents would. Nothing was done to infix in my mind the fact that although I was a British subject, in the outer world I would be a "de facto" Japanese.

Death came painfully in the last years of my high school life. The Canadian within me slowly became extinguished. Persistently, the fact that I was of Japanese origin was imposed upon me. Rather unsympathetic teachers, prejudiced, often thoughtless students treated me as a different being, because of my physical characteristics, which I, in spite of every effort, could never hope to alter.

The gradual segregation of the Japanese and White students after they leave school into groups and organizations of their own race is reflected in the fact that only 390 or approximately 19 per cent of the 2,065 second generation were associated with English-speaking secular organizations. The percentage for the rural and urban communities was almost the same, 19.4 per cent for the former and 18.1 per cent for the latter.¹⁶ The break with the companions of their childhood, however, is only the beginning of a long process of segregation. Life after High school becomes a succession of closing doors for the second generation Japanese especially in their contacts with the larger Canadian community. As they approach adulthood the younger Japanese become increasingly like their parents in physical characteristics and general appearance. To the average White, who cannot always distinguish the Chinese from the Japanese, it is almost impossible to differentiate between the first and second generation. The second generation Japanese then becomes just another "Jap", and he receives the same treatment which many Whites in the larger community have continuously accorded to his parents.

¹⁶Canadian Japanese Association, *Survey of the Second Generation*, pp. 36-9.

Two or three of these disillusioning incidents may be cited:

One day my friend and I went to the Pantages Theatre [now the Beacon]. We had heard of the discrimination against the Japanese but my friend doubted the stories he had heard. The usher directed us to one side of the theatre, but my friend purposely crossed to the other side where there were more seats. The usher then followed my friend and told him that Japanese were not permitted to sit there.¹⁷

There is the case of the Japanese boy in the Kitsilano Boys' Band who on a trip to Victoria was excluded from swimming in the Crystal Pool just because of a difference in colour. This is what is known as the "color-bar" and is bewildering to the rising second generation.¹⁸

In certain company towns, race prejudice against the Japanese in British Columbia is much stronger. In Woodfibre, for instance, if a Japanese walks in the "White town", he is insulted by all the children, and often by the adults. Japanese employees, Canadian-born or not, are refused admittance to the company tennis courts.¹⁹

The increasing difficulty of the second generation to maintain friendly, personal contact with White Canadians does not mean that the Japanese Canadians are immune to the influences of the larger Canadian community. Though there are losses and bitterness, they continue to live to a great extent like their White-Canadian contemporaries. According to a recent Japanese survey of 4,449 second generation Japanese ten years of age, 10.9 per cent in the urban, and 17.6 per cent in the rural districts read "only in Japanese"; 39.1 per cent in the urban, and 43.5 per cent in the rural read "only in English"; and 50.0 per cent in the urban and 38.9 per cent in the rural read in "both Japanese and English".²⁰ The musical attainments

¹⁷R. Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (a thesis submitted to the Department of Economics of the University of British Columbia, 1935), p. 429.

¹⁸S. Lott, Japanese Students' Club, 1934.

¹⁹Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia", p. 430.

²⁰Canadian Japanese Association, *Survey of the Second Generation*, p. 41. See *infra*, p. 212.

and preferences of the second generation appear to be even more Western in colour. Of a total of 6,919, 906 or 13.1 per cent, admitted having musical attainments, of whom 70 per cent specified Western music, vocal, instrumental, or both, as their field, 14.2 per cent both Japanese and Western music, and 15.8 per cent Japanese music alone.²¹

According to the Survey, "in many rural districts, itinerant and infrequent showings of Japanese films were the only social amusements of the second generation. While in the city and in the more populous rural districts, the educational influence of the movies (English), especially since the advent of the talking pictures, was quite material." Thirty-nine per cent of the 3,397 who replied went to the "movies", and 25.6 per cent went to "movies and parties", apparently another form of the same activity. Of significance is the fact that in "social amusements" 18.6 per cent of the 3,397 went to neither movies, dances, parties, or combinations of the three.²² The sports of the second generation appear to be more Western than either the musical activities or social amusements. Only two of twenty listed sports are Japanese—Judo and Kendo. The former is very popular in the rural districts because the first generation have sponsored it. Among the remaining eighteen indoor and outdoor sports, all Western, the following predominate in the order named in the rural districts: basketball, baseball, softball, and badminton. In the urban settlements the main sports are basketball, baseball, swimming, softball, badminton, and tennis. It is most significant that 69.4 per cent of the 3,098 in the rural districts

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 42.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 43.

and 45.4 per cent of the 2,370 in the urban centres are without sports of any kind.²³

When the second generation Japanese begin to seek employment, they feel the full force of the ill will of the Whites in the Canadian community. Only then do they inherit the whole legacy of discrimination built up as a result of the struggle between their parents and White workers. This occurs because the White community makes no distinction between the first and the second generation who are Canadians by birth. The second generation Japanese are also excluded from voting at any election, as well as from election to the provincial Legislature, from being nominated for municipal office, from being nominated at an election of School Trustees, from jury service, from obtaining a licence for hand-logging, from the employ of a contractor doing public work, from the employ of any buyer of "crown timber", for logging such timber, and by *de facto* discrimination of one kind and another, from numerous other occupational activities. The second generation is regarded, apparently, as an additional problem, since the Japanese are excluded from occupations into which its members alone might be expected to enter. This is the evident intention of bye-laws excluding Japanese from the professions of law and pharmacy.

Since the average age of the second generation Japanese in 1935 was only 11 years, the direct effect of discrimination has been primarily psychological.²⁴ According to the findings of the *Survey of the Second Generation* a total of 691 males and 464 females between 14 and 31, 25.3 per cent of the males and 50.2 per cent of the females, had not made any effort to obtain jobs. Fifty per cent of the remaining males

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 18.

and 41 per cent of the remaining females had obtained jobs without difficulty partly because "very few Second Generation people have applied for jobs where race discrimination would be felt, that is in professional lines". Approximately 90 per cent of the second generation people who experienced no difficulty in obtaining jobs were in the lumbering or farming industries. About one-fourth, 24.3 per cent of the males and 8.4 per cent of the females, experienced difficulty in finding work. Among the 168 males who found it difficult to obtain work, 24.2 per cent attributed the difficulty to "race prejudice", and among the 39 women, 21.6 per cent.²⁵

The second generation Japanese constitute a peculiar problem in themselves. Born in the Province, educated in its schools, many of them brought up in its churches, they reach adulthood to find themselves almost as much the objects of discrimination as their fathers before them. Denied the right to vote, they are aliens in the land of their birth, Canadians in almost every respect except the political recognition of that fact by other Canadians. The first generation came to Canada as citizens of Japan, and for the majority of them Japan probably remains the object of their affection and loyalty. The second generation of the Japanese Canadians, in spite of what their critics may say to the contrary and in spite of what their parents may do to have it otherwise, are no more Japanese than their parents are Canadian. They live in our houses, wear our clothes, eat our food, attend our schools, speak our language, read our books, join our churches, go to our movies, play our sports, sing our songs, and salute our flags. Since they do these things, and since they are human and therefore are affected by the experience, it is a denial

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 25-6.

of the obvious to ignore the fact that they are in process of becoming Canadian. Both training and necessity make them Canadians ultimately, and render them unfit to compete in the only country to which they have access—Japan. If the first generation, after years in Canada, discover contemporary Japan to be a strange new country to which they find it almost impossible to adjust themselves, the second generation can hardly be regarded as possible competitors in a society almost totally foreign to them. It is for these reasons that the second generation wants to remain here, and to enjoy the full rights which are normally those of persons born within the Dominion.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN JAPANESE SETTLEMENTS

I. UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF

SERIOUS unemployment and a heavy relief load might be considered inevitable in any immigrant group which had not been in this country for more than two or three decades. Indeed these problems might be expected as a matter of course with the Japanese Canadians who had been forced out of a number of occupations and forbidden to enter others. Yet all the evidence points to a relatively low unemployment rate¹ and to a relief record of these people equal, if not superior, to that of most other population groups in the community in spite of the compulsory unemployment of hundreds of Japanese as a result of racial discrimination, and notwithstanding the severity of the recent depression. Studies in the United States of the Japanese on the West Coast uniformly confirm these findings of a small amount of dependency and comparatively little unemployment in this immigrant group.

This conclusion is based not only on our survey in 1934 but also on official data obtained in a census of the unemployed on direct relief in British Columbia in the same year. The census material is incorporated in a report entitled *Statement Showing Numbers Receiving Direct Relief in Organized and Unorganized Territory* (as from returns received from the field), 1934² and constitutes an impressive record for the Japanese in British Columbia. Whereas a total

¹J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, *The Immigration Problem* (New York, 1917), p. 250.

²British Columbia Department of Labor, Unemployment Relief Branch, Dec. 31, 1934.

of 93,924 persons were on relief in the Province, representing 13.05 per cent of the total population, only 924 Japanese were on relief, or only 4.2 per cent of the Japanese population in British Columbia. In other words, the percentage of Japanese on direct relief was less than one-third of the percentage of all groups on relief.

On the other hand, the numbers on relief are probably not as accurate an index of actual unemployment in the case of the Japanese as of most other groups. Whether in Canada or the United States, the Japanese are noted for the aid they give the more unfortunate members of their race, either the unemployed or the unemployable. The social workers in British Columbia almost uniformly stated in interviews that "The Japanese look after their own; we have very few on our lists". Assistance of an informal nature is given by relatives and friends and is a very important item in a group as closely knit together by familial and kinship ties as are the Japanese. The conception of the family as including more than those in the immediate household, together with the devotion of the members of the family to one another, guarantee a certain security for relatives whether in Canada or in Japan. Assistance of a more formal nature comes from the "ken-jin-kai" or the prefectural associations. A member of a prefectural association informed us: "We do not wish to see our own 'Ken' people starving or committing a crime, for in either case it reflects disgrace on us. If he is starving, we should take the responsibility of helping him, and if he displays any criminal tendencies, we should restrain him and lead him back to proper conduct, for he is one of the 'doken-jin' [fellow prefecture men]." Still more formal is the assistance rendered by the Canadian Japanese Association, the Camp and Mill Workers' Union,

and the Japanese Welfare Federation, and by other Japanese community associations outside of Vancouver. Many of these associations have as a major objective the mutual welfare of their members.

While the Japanese on relief represented only 4.2 per cent of the Japanese population, it is reasonable to assume that those on relief comprised a good proportion of all unemployed Japanese. According to the unemployment Census, 175 of the 280 Japanese cases, or nearly two-thirds, were from the city of Vancouver. Three other centres, Cumberland, a coal mining town in which most of the resident Japanese were unemployed, had 30; New Westminster had 26; and Prince Rupert 16. It is significant that the remaining cases were almost entirely from lumbering and mining centres, not more than a dozen cases coming from the important agricultural centres in the Fraser and Okanagan valleys, and none from fishing centres outside of Vancouver and Prince Rupert. Of the 280 cases of unemployed, sixty-one were over sixty years of age and nearly ready for the old age pension, 167 or nearly 60 per cent were over fifty, and only 12 were under thirty years of age. It is evident that old age was a most important factor contributing to unemployment. The applicants had been in Canada from 3 to 51 years, the average for the whole group being 27.1 years. Only eighty-nine or 31.4 per cent of the 280 applicants, had become naturalized, none before they had been here fifteen years, and the great majority after they had been here twenty-five years. There were 4.9 dependents for every Japanese head of a family on relief, as compared with 2.8 dependents per head of the non-Japanese families (see p. 284).

The single unemployed constitute a separate problem. Of these there were 148, over 50 per cent of the 280 adult applicants. They were almost all males

and had been here on an average the same length of time as the heads of families. They had been naturalized to about the same extent, *i.e.*, 43 out of 148 single individuals, as compared with 46 out of 132 heads of families. Approximately 84 per cent of the group, were located in Vancouver where they live after the usual fashion of the unattached single males of any immigrant group. Like the majority of their countrymen, they began as transient labourers, shifting from job to job and from one community to another, but they differed from the majority in that they remained in this category. With no family to support they became increasingly irresponsible, working for a brief interval and then taking time to "go on a spree" until all their money was spent. The cycle would then be repeated. In this way, many single men dissipated their material resources and lost the moral stability they had when they came to Canada. They are the result, to a certain extent, of the disproportionate number of males to females in this immigrant group and might represent a much more serious problem were it not that a large percentage of Japanese women came to this country. If the "picture-brides" are to be blamed for the high birth-rate of the Japanese, they are no less responsible for mitigating the incidence of immorality and degeneracy which would be the almost inevitable consequence of an immigrant population preponderantly male.

A pen picture made up from the answers to a questionnaire filled in by an unemployed single man in Vancouver is illuminating:

Okayama is unemployed but not on relief. He has a record of nine jobs in twenty years. He was without work of any kind during seven of the twenty years. He came to Canada from Hawaii in 1907 as a single man, twenty-three years of age. He left behind him in Hawaii his father and the family of six. Okayama

had worked on the land in Japan with his father before migrating to Hawaii and had there spent eight years of his boyhood in public school.

On his arrival in Canada with \$50 in his pocket, he obtained work at once on one of the railroads at \$1.65 a day. After two months of this he fell ill. On recovering he went to work in a liquor shop at \$45 a month. He stayed in this position for seven years at the end of which time he went back to Japan. On returning to Canada in 1917 he worked for six months in a logging camp until it was closed down. At this job he earned \$4.25 a day. He then returned to the liquor shop job at \$50 a month but tired of the work in six months and looked out for something else to do. He spent the next year as a labourer in a sawmill. Dissatisfied with this job, Okayama went into a pulp mill where he spent three years and made \$120 a month.

Once again illness attacked him and he was one year without earning anything. On recovery he went back to work in a sawmill at \$75 a month. After three years of this, he decided that he would like a change so he entered a whaling station where he worked for four years at \$80 a month. Six months of the year was the average length of the working season. He found no other off-season occupation so that he did not acquire more money than would cover his immediate needs during these four years. For three years following this job he was out of work. He was then taken on again at a whaling station, this time at \$40 a month.

At the end of six months the station closed down leaving Okayama again without work. He has not worked since that time. Since he is fifty years old his chances of getting further work are few. Out of his small savings he rents a room in one of the Japanese rooming houses in the Powell Street district for \$5 a month and spends \$12 a month for his food in a restaurant in the vicinity. A small medical charge of about fifty cents a month suggests that his "bad sickness" has not left him free from after-effects or the possibilities of a recurrence of ill health.

This Japanese Canadian has no social resources in the form of family or religion. He never hears directly from the homeland and does not wish to return to Japan. He has been twenty-seven years in Canada (1934) and resents his inability to obtain work here. With the handicap of poor health and an occupational background characterized by marked instability, it is unlikely that he will obtain permanent employment. In the meantime, when his small savings have become exhausted, we shall almost certainly find him "on relief" or receiving assistance from his own people.

II. DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

Excessive delinquency and crime are frequent concomitants of the disorganization which accompanies the assimilation of an immigrant group. As the old means of social control pass away and the new are gradually acquired in the transition from one culture to another, the members of the immigrant group have more freedom than they know how to use wisely, especially in the case of the younger generation who are more rapidly assimilated than their parents and who suffer as a result from declining parental control. The usual consequence is an increase in the juvenile delinquency rate of the group.³ Shaw and others have shown how this may occur and how frequently it does occur in connection with most of the European immigrant groups which have settled in the metropolitan centres of the United States. The juvenile delinquency rates of Japanese, however, have been conspicuously lower than those of the native population. A census of the inmates of 35 institutions, including "all Reformatories, Industrial Schools, Industrial Farms, Boys Farms and Training Schools, and all corrective institutions for the detention and reformation of their inmates who are generally first offenders or short term prisoners or juveniles who lack proper parental discipline and are placed in these institutions for the purpose of supervision and reclamation", as shown in the following table, compares the Japanese total and percentage with other important population groups. The Japanese with 0.2 per cent of the Dominion population have only 0.1 per cent of the population of the corrective institutions, or one-half of what they might be expected to have in terms of population base.

³Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago, 1929).

The statistics⁴ on the older Japanese or those convicted of the more serious offences and committed to penitentiaries are as conclusively favourable to the Japanese. There were three Japanese-born offenders of a total of 527 for the Province. The Japanese with 3.2 per cent of the population of British Columbia had 0.6 per cent of the penitentiary population of the Province. The Chinese with nearly the same provincial population as the Japanese, had about twenty-five times as many inmates as the latter.⁵ In so far

JAPANESE AND OTHER INMATES OF 35 CANADIAN CORRECTIVE INSTITUTIONS RELEASED JUNE 1, 1931, OR DURING 1930

Nationality or race	Institutions	Percentage of all inmates	Percentage of Dominion population
Japanese.....	17	0.1	0.2
Chinese.....	175	1.1	0.4
British.....	8,654	54.0	51.9
Others.....	7,178	44.8	47.5
All.....	16,024	100.0	100.0

as criminal statistics are an index of the relative criminality of a racial group, they show the Japanese as among the most law-abiding citizens in the country.⁶

There appears to be general agreement among students of the Japanese that one of the most important factors contributing to their remarkably low delinquency and criminal rates is the influence of the

⁴Bulletin Number 111, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1931.

⁵Chinese population of British Columbia, 27,139; Japanese, 22,205 (*Census of Canada*, 1931).

⁶Professor Walter G. Beach in a study of immigrant settlement in California has shown that "during the period from 1900 to 1927, there were 2,037,794 arrests for all causes in California. Of these, only nine-tenths of one per cent were Japanese. In other words, while the Japanese represented 1.7 per cent of the population in 1910 (about the middle of this period), they were responsible for only nine-tenths of one per cent of the arrests; thus, their criminal record was only about half as

family in controlling the behaviour of its members. One cannot live for weeks in the midst of a Japanese community without being impressed by their unusual loyalty to other members of their family, living or dead, and by the influence of this sentiment in determining their daily conduct. The solidarity is partly a result of the belief in "family pedigree" which ensures the continuing influence of the family on all its members in spite of the passage of time or of separation by travel. This record is passed on from generation to generation and contains important information about all the members of the family. When marriages are to be arranged, it makes possible an investigation into the character of every person in the family for several generations. "To whatever extent any family has been disgraced by the conduct of any of its members, the whole family suffers, so that its members cannot marry so advantageously. This brings the whole weight of family influence on each member."⁷ Showing us a collection of such pedigrees, an outstanding leader among the Japanese in British Columbia said: "You ask me why we have so few criminals? This is why. When a man commits a crime it is recorded on the pedigree and is regarded as a family disgrace."

A second factor which has undoubtedly checked crime and delinquency is the efficiency of their community institutions. Japanese groups and institu-

high as the average in the state" (A. W. Palmer, *Orientalism in American Life*, New York, 1934, p. 56). Professor R. Adams has arrived at the same conclusion for the Japanese in Hawaii. For the six year period 1925-30, the number of convictions for specified crimes including murder, manslaughter, robbery, burglary, fraud, embezzlement, forgery, and sex crimes, to each 1,000 civilian males over 18 years was 0.789 for the Japanese and 4.328 for the Whites. The Japanese also had the lowest juvenile delinquency rate, and the lowest number of commitments to prison, of all races (*The Peoples of Hawaii*, Honolulu, 1933, pp. 52-3).

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 48.

tions, well organized in the homeland, have been brought to the New World, and exist surprisingly intact in form and spirit in the settlements in British Columbia. They continue to exert a profound influence on the younger generation and offset the general strains imposed on immigrant groups. The nature of the contribution made by these institutions is evident in the following illustration. On Sunday afternoons in the summer of 1934 in West Summerland, a junior Japanese baseball team played against men in the prime of life. The latter were adult Japanese farmers of the community coaching the boys for games with a Penticton White group of the same age. The purpose of the adults, as they put it, was to see that the second generation had amusements to occupy them in their leisure time and to keep them out of mischief. In all the Japanese settlements the older generation appeared to take this same intelligent interest in the problems facing the second generation, in some places actually forming second generation societies in order to safeguard their youth.

Last but by no means least in determining the good behaviour of the Japanese is their undoubted pride of race or nationality. "Yamato-damashii", or the Japanese spirit, persists in the thinking of the adult Japanese and is reflected in everything they and their children do: their standing in school, their achievements in sport, and their behaviour in the community. In this last respect it affects the delinquency rate of the group: conviction for a crime is tantamount to putting a blot on the escutcheon of Japan. The late John Nelson, who felt free to criticize the Japanese, related the following incident in an address to the Montreal Empire Club: "I once heard a story of a Japanese who was brought up in a Vancouver court for some misdemeanor. The interpreter

said: 'The prisoner asks me to tell you how ashamed he is that by his act he has brought disgrace upon his country'. Would a Saxon in Tokyo behave as well?'⁸ There can be no doubt of the influence of familial and patriotic ties in enabling the Japanese to make such a creditable showing in the field of delinquency and crime.

However, in spite of their low delinquency rates, it is claimed that the Japanese lack "common honesty". One frequently hears statements in British Columbia to the effect that "You can trust a Chinaman always but you cannot rely on the Japanese".⁹ These generalizations are extremely difficult to test. Many who speak in this way do so on hearsay having had little or no first-hand contacts with the Japanese. Those who cited specific instances, such as forged birth certificates, concerning which there was a scandal in British Columbia in recent years, broken contracts, *etc.*, seemed to attach undue importance to isolated incidents and appeared to ignore the fact that for every shady transaction or infraction of the law which might be attributed to the Japanese, duplicates could be found recorded against the Whites at the nearest court house. Certainly the criminal statistics as a measurement of actual criminal behaviour, suggest that charges registered against the Whites would double those to the discredit of the Japanese. Criticism with reference to a more informal or extra-legal type of delinquency is extremely difficult to appraise. In their business dealings, where honesty is measured in dollars and cents, the Japanese enjoy an enviable reputation in some parts of British Columbia. More

⁸John Nelson in *Empire Club Speeches*, 1923, p. 161.

⁹The Japanese have acquired a similar reputation in the United States where it is claimed they are given to breaking contracts (Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, pp. 243, 246).

than one bank manager stated that the Japanese were among the most reliable customers they had. An interesting incident would appear to support the evidence of the bankers. A complaint reached officials of the Provincial Government in recent years that the Japanese farmers in the Fraser Valley were getting fertilizer from White companies for much less per ton and for a longer credit period than were the Whites. This seemed incredible but proved on investigation to be true. The White companies claimed it was merely a matter of business: the Japanese farmers used more fertilizer, a much larger percentage were sure to pay for it, and they were likely to pay more quickly than the Whites.

III. MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY

A general index of the comparative health of the Japanese in British Columbia is to be found in the mortality statistics which have been kept separate for the Japanese since 1921. Since it is a more serious matter to neglect the registration of deaths than births, it is probable that the death statistics are more nearly accurate than the birth statistics.

It is impossible to estimate the significance of the comparative death-rates owing to the different distribution of the age and sex groups in the two populations. The Japanese death-rate seems to be unmistakably high in the first five years of the period and correspondingly low in the concluding five years. It gives evidence of a decline in the last few years. The decline may be a result of a similar tendency in the birth-rate of the Japanese. Since a high birth-rate is usually accompanied by a high infant mortality rate, and conversely, a low birth-rate with a low infant mortality rate, it is probable that the declining

death-rate of the Japanese in recent years is due to, and therefore evidence of, a declining birth-rate. This would be expected from known changes in the composition of the age and sex groups.

The *Survey of the Second Generation* by the Canadian Japanese Association in 1935 under the title "Deaths of the Second Generation during the Whole Period of History of the Japanese Immigrants by Certain Causes and Ages"¹⁰ throws very little light on the

DEATH-RATES FOR THE JAPANESE AND ALL RACES IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA,* 1921-32

Years	Registered deaths		Death rate per 1,000 population	
	Japanese	All races	Japanese	All races
1921.....	142	4,572	9.46	8.72
1922.....	190	4,907	12.17	9.07
1923.....	161	4,997	9.92	9.00
1924.....	154	5,004	9.12	8.76
1925.....	196	4,945	11.17	8.41
1926.....	161	5,474	8.82	9.05
1927.....	185	5,750	9.74	9.49
1928.....	170	5,910	3.61	9.29
1929.....	179	6,397	8.72	9.69
1930.....	153	6,400	7.16	9.45
1931.....	173	6,114	7.79	8.86
1932.....	159	6,150	6.89	8.70

**Department of Health Reports, British Columbia Sessional Papers.*

actual infant mortality rate. The authors stated that "the number of deaths by tuberculosis may be suspected, in view of the fact that the people generally hesitate to admit the occurrence of such sickness within their homes". Otherwise, the statistics present "quite a reliable indication of the conditions of vitality of the children of Japanese immigrants. The percentage of infant deaths is surprisingly high in comparison with the other causes of death and it was

¹⁰Canadian Japanese Association, *Survey of the Second Generation of Japanese in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1935), p. 8.

noticed that infant mortality cases were more frequent in the country than in the city. This is due to many reasons: e.g., lack of medical attention, unhygienic delivery, employment of mid-wives, and the tendency of Japanese women to undergo great physical exertion before travail, especially during the busy berry season."¹¹

DEATHS OF THE SECOND GENERATION JAPANESE BY AGES AND CAUSES
UP TO 1934

Age at death	Infant mortality	Accident	Tuber- culosis	Others	Total	Per cent
0-4	385	39	13	258	695	68.2
5-9	—	26	2	103	131	12.9
10-14	—	10	3	69	82	8.0
15-19	—	2	7	56	65	6.4
20-24	—	3	5	26	34	3.3
25-29	—	1	—	7	8	0.8
30-34	—	2	—	2	4	0.4
Total	385	83	30	521	1,019	100.0
Per cent	37.8	8.1	2.9	51.2	100.0	

The Japanese, together with the Chinese and Indians, share in having one of the highest tuberculosis death-rates in British Columbia. The tuberculosis death-rate¹² of the Japanese in one year trebles that of the non-Asiatic group, and nearly doubles it for all the remaining years of the period. These rates may be due in part to the age characteristics of the two population groups, but the evidence indicates that the Japanese tuberculosis death-rate is well in excess of the tuberculosis death-rate for the population of the Province, especially of the non-Asiatic section. A leading Japanese doctor attributed prevalence of

¹¹Ibid.

¹²British Columbia Department of Health Reports, *British Columbia Seasonal Papers*, 1921-30.

the disease primarily to ignorance of precautions which should be taken where the disease already exists.¹³ Other factors contributing to the frequency of the malady were the strenuous and excessively hard labour to which the Japanese men, women, and even children subject themselves, and the low standard of living involving over-crowding and under-nourishment. The Health Department of the city of Vancouver undertook an anti-tuberculosis campaign among the Japanese, and, with the assistance of Dr. Shimo-Takahara, set up a clinic and

TUBERCULOSIS DEATH-RATES OF JAPANESE AND OTHERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1921-30

Years	Japanese deaths from tuberculosis	Tuberculosis death-rate per 1,000 of population			
		Japanese	Chinese	Non-Asiatic	All races
1921.....	33	2.19	2.08	0.70	0.98
1922.....	22	1.41	2.72	0.67	0.95
1923.....	24	1.48	1.87	0.67	0.95
1924.....	23	1.36	1.70	0.69	0.94
1925.....	33	1.90	1.87	0.61	0.92
1926.....	28	1.53	2.55	0.59	1.14
1927.....	35	1.85	2.12	0.61	1.13
1928.....	27	1.39	1.91	0.74	1.01
1929.....	39	1.07	2.15	0.68	1.07
1930.....	26	1.08	1.90	0.73	1.01

launched an educational programme. According to the Department,¹⁴ the Japanese tuberculosis death-rate for the city dropped from 333.3 per 100,000 persons in 1931 to 213.5 in 1933. The Health Officer of the city spoke highly of the co-operation of the Japanese people in the campaign, unsurpassed, he said, by that rendered by any other racial group in Vancouver.

¹³Interview with Dr. Shimo-Takahara, Vancouver, summer, 1934.

¹⁴*Annual Health Report*, Vancouver, 1933, p. 11.

The cancer death-rate of the Japanese appears to be unusually low. While the age distribution of the two groups would alter their rates materially, it could not change the marked and unmistakable trend which is very definitely favourable to the Japanese.

CANCER DEATH-RATES OF JAPANESE AND OTHERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA,
1923-32

Years	Deaths from cancer		Deaths per 1,000 persons	
	Japanese	All	Japanese	All
1923.....	5	453	30.8	81.7
1924.....	11	457	65.2	80.4
1925.....	4	473	22.8	80.4
1926.....	5	526	27.4	87.0
1927.....	7	517	36.9	83.0
1928.....	5	576	25.3	89.9
1929.....	6	692	29.2	105.0
1930.....	9	708	42.1	104.7
1931.....	11	724	49.5	104.3
1932.....	7	762	30.3	108.2

The city of Vancouver provides a better statistical unit for comparing the Japanese with all other groups because the circumstances under which the two groups live are more nearly alike, and statistics are of a more detailed nature.¹⁵ They confirm the conclusions that

¹⁵PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF DEATH OF JAPANESE AND ALL RACES IN VAN-
COUVER IN 1933

	Deaths		Per cent of total	
	Japanese	All groups	Japanese	All groups
Heart disease.....	5	524	7.4	23.5
Cancer (all forms).....	9	408	13.2	18.3
Tuberculosis (all forms)....	18	155	27.1	7.0
Pneumonia	8	163	12.0	7.3
Violent and accidental.....	3	132	4.5	6.0
Nephritis.....	3	76	4.5	3.4
Premature births.....	1	30	1.5	1.3
Infectious diseases.....	0	18	0.0	0.8

Statistics for all groups are from the *Annual Health Report*, Vancouver, 1934; those for the Japanese were compiled from records in Health Department of Vancouver.

the Japanese appear to die more frequently from tuberculosis and less frequently from cancer than all groups combined. Deaths of Japanese from pneumonia appear to be in excess of those in the general population, while deaths from heart disease appear to be low. It is uncertain, however, whether the relative position of the Japanese rate would remain the same if corrected for age and sex.

No lack is evident of health functionaries among the Japanese. There are six Japanese doctors, four dentists, and two osteopaths, almost all practising in Vancouver, and among the thirty-odd Japanese undergraduates at the University of British Columbia in the academic year 1934-5, six at least were contemplating medicine as a career. The Japanese medical men apparently get less than 50 per cent of the medical work of the Japanese. Few doctors get any obstetrical work to do. Japanese midwives are pre-eminent in this field. An outstanding Japanese doctor averaged no more than one delivery a month in 1934, and some of these cases were those given up by the midwives. He claims that these women know the mechanical phase of the work but that they are seriously deficient in the medical branch. The work of the doctors is handicapped not only by the competition of incompetent midwives but also by that of plain and religious quacks, fire-doctors, and the like, who total well over sixty, and many of whom make a living out of their work. The majority of these have had a traditional function to perform in the life of the Japanese in the homeland and their hold on the first generation is consequently all the more secure. In spite of this custom, Japanese settlements may be expected to avail themselves increasingly of the services of the Japanese and White doctors. The success

of the anti-tuberculosis campaign in Vancouver is a promise of progress in this connection.

IV. FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS AND INSANITY

Although our foreign-born citizens have been reputed to have an insanity rate well in excess of their percentage of the population,¹⁶ the rate for Asiatics in general, and for the Japanese in particular, seems to be considerably less than what might be expected in terms of their proportion of the total population. The survey in 1926-7 by a Royal Commission on Mental Hygiene, in collaboration with representatives of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, sponsored the "analysis of records of admissions to British Columbia mental hospitals during ten years, from July 1, 1916 to June 30, 1926".¹⁷ It covered a total of 3,485 individuals admitted as insane and 353 admitted as feeble-minded. This survey confirmed previous studies made in Canada and the United States in showing the higher percentage of insane among the foreign-born section of the population. The Canadian-born with 50 per cent of the population of British Columbia furnished only 28 per cent of the insane, while the foreign-born furnished 72 per cent of the insane. The British and the European foreign-born had a higher percentage of insane than their numbers would warrant. The British Isles with 29.13 per cent of the population furnished 39.52 per cent of the insane, and the Europeans with 6.04 per cent of the population furnished 17.22 per cent. The only group among the foreign-born with an insanity percentage less than

¹⁶W. G. Smith, *A Study in Canadian Immigration* (Toronto, 1920), pp. 226-65.

¹⁷*Report of the Royal Commission on Mental Hygiene, British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1926-7, vol. II, p. CC29.*

its percentage of the population were the Asiatics who, with 6.20 per cent of the population furnished 4.47 per cent of the insane.

Since the Japanese represent nearly 50 per cent of the Asiatics in British Columbia, the conclusions may be regarded as favourable to them, especially as further research indicated that the Japanese had a more commendable record than the Chinese. A study of the provincial reports showing admissions by

ADMISSIONS OF JAPANESE AND OTHERS TO THE MENTAL HOSPITALS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, APRIL 1, 1920, TO MARCH 31, 1930

Nationality	Males	Females	Total	Per cent	Average population percentage* Period 1921-31
Japanese.....	44	13	57	1.15	3.05
Chinese.....	127	5	132	2.66	
Others.....	3,084	1,696	4,780	96.19	
Total.....	3,255	1,714	4,969	100.00	

*Obtained by getting the average of the percentages for 1921 and 1931, respectively.

nationalities to the mental hospitals of British Columbia, between April 1, 1920, and March 31, 1930,¹⁸ shows that with a percentage of all admissions of 1.15, or considerably less than half of their average population percentage for the period, the Japanese have a remarkably low rate as compared with the Chinese, who also have a rate well below what might be expected in terms of their percentage of the population of the Province.

A publication of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics showing the percentage of principal races in Canada in Mental Hospitals, June 1, 1931, provides striking confirmation of these conclusions. The nationalities

¹⁸*British Columbia Department of Health Reports, 1920-30.*

were selected from a much larger list. The Austrians and the Dutch have been included in order to indicate extreme rates, the Austrians with the highest rate of 769 mental hospital patients per 100,000 of their population, and the Dutch with the lowest rate of only 65. The Japanese with a rate of 150 are towards the lower end of the list.

PERCENTAGE OF PRINCIPAL RACES BORN IN CANADA PRESENT IN MENTAL HOSPITALS, JUNE 1, 1931, TOGETHER WITH RATIO TO GENERAL RACE POPULATION

Races	Population	Patients June, 1931	Patients born in Canada	Percentage born in Canada	No. of patients in Mental Hospitals per 100,000 same race
Austrians	48,639	374	44	11.7	769
English	2,741,419	9,951	6,437	64.7	363
Scottish	1,346,350	3,734	2,780	74.4	277
Irish	1,230,808	3,308	2,593	78.4	269
Chinese	46,519	118	6	5.0	254
Japanese	23,324	35	5	14.3	150
Dutch	148,962	96	58	60.4	65

V. COMMUNITY CONFLICT

The loose use of the word "Japanese" often leads individuals to think that the Japanese community in British Columbia is a thoroughly integrated unity, knit together by a passionate allegiance to a common homeland, and with no divisive or discordant elements to disturb the harmony of the whole. The natural solidarity of the group is thus given a sinister connotation as if to imply the existence of a highly organized entity, with malicious purposes and a Machiavellian capacity to achieve them. This is unfortunately in part a result of the activities of Japanese imperialism in other parts of the world. While some aspects of

the group life of the Japanese Canadians lend themselves to this explanation, the situation in general may be accounted for on other grounds. In spite of their genius for corporate action, they are not without differences of opinion, sometimes sufficiently marked to make for a clash within the larger Japanese group in the country. Division of the group in terms of the first and second generation, the conflict inherent in the fact that the second generation is assimilated so much more rapidly than the first, and the efforts of the first generation to dominate the second in accordance with domestic standards sometimes result in open breach between parents and children. This difference in training of the young and old was reflected in the political and religious attitudes of the second generation who were almost aggressively Canadian in their acceptance of Christianity and in their fight for the franchise, and critical of the first generation for the dilemma in which they naturally find themselves.

Outside of the family, the community is also divided on religious and political grounds. The religious controversy centres around the rivalry of the Buddhists and the Christians, and implicit in this the opposition of divergent attitudes as to the desirability of perpetuating Japanese customs and institutions in the New World. The Christians appear to be those Japanese most nearly assimilated and willing to be assimilated, while the Buddhists are inclined to stress loyalty to Japan and to Japanese culture. A Japanese Christian minister's account of his work in a rural community in British Columbia illustrates this state of religious division.

After finishing my work in Toronto I came to the mission in . . . in May 14 . . . When I was appointed here we had a membership of only five and members. During the past five years

Camp and Mill Workers' Union fought this policy of isolation as inimical to the welfare of a people whose future was in this country and whose interests were identical with those of similar groups in the White-Canadian population. The Union sought and eventually obtained affiliation with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and advocated similar cooperation and collaboration on the part of other Japanese associations. The feeling between the two groups became bitter at times, but the last two or three Japanese consuls have done much towards resolving the conflict by depriving the Canadian Japanese Association of some of its prerogatives. The Japanese are not a people who give unquestioned obedience to a single group of leaders and there is a great diversity of opinion among them on all the important problems affecting their welfare.

Schisms within the ranks are undoubtedly less because of the bitter feeling marking their relations with non-Japanese groups in the Canadian community, particularly the other major Asiatic group, the Chinese. Perhaps the outstanding anomaly in the racial situation in British Columbia, is the customary linkage of the Chinese and Japanese as "Orientals" as if they were united in some important respect. In so far as attitudes are concerned, either one has more in common with the Whites than they have with each other. With the two major colonies of Japanese and Chinese in Vancouver separated only by Hastings Street, it is a marvel that the Japanese invasions of the Shanghai area in 1931 and 1937 did not have more serious repercussion in British Columbia. In 1931 a Japanese fish market in Vancouver, patronized mostly by Chinese, was practically ruined by an organized boycott, and this was only one of a number of similar incidents which occurred in that city. The

Japanese farmers in the Fraser Valley, who were accustomed to find an outlet for their vegetables through Chinese pedlars and grocers of Vancouver were left with their produce unsold after the Shanghai incident.

The Japanese seem to have no marked antagonism to the Chinese, perhaps because they have no reason to harbour such a sentiment, but they reciprocated in kind during the Shanghai trouble in 1931. Their attitude to the Chinese as to other racial groups is one of superiority. They would not think of intermarriage with them. The Chinese attitude, however, appears to be distinctly hostile. To the aggressive acts of the Japanese nation against China is added the fact that the Chinese have had to suffer perhaps more than the Whites, from competition with the Japanese. As the greatest enemies of the poor, economically, have been the very poor, so the greatest competitors of the Chinese in British Columbia have been the Japanese. The Royal Commission of 1902 pointed out that the Chinese were being displaced by the Japanese in several industries in which they had priority because of the aggressive tactics of the Japanese and their willingness to work for smaller wages.²⁰ The aggressive characteristics which enabled the Japanese to overtake the Chinese is one of the reasons most frequently given as to why the Japanese are disliked more than the Chinese at the present time. In 1902 a witness before the Royal Commission testified with uncanny foresight as to the essential characteristics of the two groups and the likely future of the Japanese. "I consider the Japanese cleanly in habits, industrious and intelligent. I believe them more dangerous

²⁰"The Japanese have in many cases displaced the Chinese in the United States, also" (Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, p. 245).

competitors in the business of the country than the Chinese. . . . As a race they believe they are capable of taking an equal place among the civilized nations of the world. They are more aggressive than the Chinese, and if permitted to enter this country without restriction, would in the course of time become a considerable portion of our business and working community and would undoubtedly insist upon becoming enfranchised."²¹

The most significant conflict is, of course, with the White-Canadian community. The bitter feeling between the two groups is undoubtedly giving rise to attitudes on the part of the Japanese which provide a most unwholesome atmosphere in which to raise their children. The objectionable phrase "oppressed nationality psychosis" best suggests the state of mind which develops where a minority, racial, or national, group is perpetually subjected to discrimination by a dominant population. The significance of this development among the Japanese in British Columbia is stressed particularly in the following paragraph by Professor Angus of the University of British Columbia, an objective student of the people who has had ample opportunity to observe them at close range:

The most serious consequence to the general public is that some thousands of our fellow-citizens have been embittered by treatment which no ordinary man or woman could fail to resent. It is probable that this very serious consequence has been frequently overlooked. We have not thought of our problem of Asiatic immigration in terms of the second generation. We have not, for instance, studied the history of other countries to find out whether there are examples of a racial minority having been deprived of political rights and excluded from economic opportunities without seriously deteriorating, acquiring qualities which are obnoxious to the rest of the community, and in the end becoming a menace to it!²²

²¹*Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, 1902, p. 337.

²²H. F. Angus, "Underprivileged Canadians" (*Queen's Quarterly*, summer, 1931, p. 452).

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

THE United States Race Relations Survey undertaken in 1925 under the supervision of a leading American authority on race relations,¹ indicated that in many respects the Japanese were among the finest citizens in the United States. A similar conclusion might properly be applied to the Japanese in British Columbia. In the economic field they have shown enterprise and efficiency. Educationally, they make use of schools as much as any other racial group, and their children are second to none in scholarship and deportment. Socially and politically they appear to be willing to co-operate wherever and in so far as circumstances permit. With regard to problems of dependency, delinquency, and insanity, in which so many other immigrant groups have proven conspicuously inadequate, the Japanese appear to have an unimpeachable record. Even the Secretary of the White Canada Association, one of the strongest critics of the Japanese, concedes their excellence in all respects save one—that of race.

The Japanese from every point of view but race are good citizens and desirable settlers. You rarely find them in the police or criminal courts for drug or whisky peddling, gambling, dishonesty, contravening city by-laws, health or otherwise, rarely even for crimes of violence, and then only as the result of disputes among themselves. They are scrupulously clean in their dress and person, possibly even more so than the average Englishman, who has always been regarded as a shining example, and in the rather overcrowded districts in Vancouver they make at least an honest attempt to conform to city by-laws. As settlers of the land, I do not think it can be doubted that they are, on the average, the best we have

¹R. E. Park, "United States Race Relations Survey" (*Survey Graphic*, May, 1926).

in the Province. They are land-builders, not land-miners, and so far as the Lower Fraser Valley is concerned, they do not lease land, but always buy it, and buy unimproved land to clear, logged-over or bush land at that.²

In spite of their unusual record they appear to be one of the most disliked or hated groups in the Province. This is the final paradox in a situation replete with paradoxes: a people so excellent in many respects yet not wanted as immigrants by a country reputedly in need of them! How can we account for this? There is no simple answer to a problem so deeply rooted in the cultural backgrounds and fundamental differences of two great racial groups. British Columbia Whites criticize them on the ground that they compete unfairly with them and threaten to undermine their livelihood. They claim that a White man has not a chance to survive once the Japanese invade a particular industry because of their lower standard of living, *i.e.*, a willingness to work longer and harder than the Whites for lower wages with which to buy fewer goods. Once they enter industries where there are no regulations as to hours and wages, such as fishing and farming, bitter competition for inadequate returns ensues. In industries with such regulations, the Japanese are accused of evading them, as in the cleaning and pressing business in Vancouver in which, it is said, Japanese proprietors employ members of their families and relatives for long hours and give them little remuneration. This advantage in competition, say their critics, has enabled them to invade one industry after another, displacing White workers in fishing, lumbering, railroading, mining, agriculture, and business. A resolution unanimously adopted by the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia in

²C. E. Hope, "British Columbia's Racial Problem" (*Maclean's Magazine*, Feb. 1, 1930).

December, 1934, indicates the importance attached by the Whites to this factor in the situation:

Whereas the standard of living of the average Oriental is far below that of the white man, thus enabling him to live comfortably on a much lower wage than our white men:

And whereas the Orientals have invaded many fields of industrial and commercial activities to the serious detriment of our white citizens:

And whereas considerable unemployment always exists in British Columbia, partly due to the fact that large numbers of Orientals are filling situations in our industrial and commercial life which could be filled by our white citizens:

And whereas the Orientals are fast invading the commercial areas of many municipalities and districts of British Columbia, carrying on commercial and industrial pursuits:

And whereas many of our white merchants are being forced out of business by such commercial and industrial invasion:

Therefore be it Resolved, That this House go on record as being utterly opposed to the further influx of Orientals into this Province, etc., etc.

A criticism generally associated with that of Japanese competition is the rapid or "alarming" growth of their population as a result of the high birth-rate. Usually the birth-rate is considered as being many times that of the native population, and this without reference to the population growth of the Japanese. Usually the "crude" birth-rate is considered without reference to its real significance in relation to the peculiar age and sex composition of the group. The consequence is that the birth-rate has become the point of departure for a whole series of myths as to the ultimate role of the Japanese in the economic and political affairs of the Province. With the increasing importance of the birth-rate, immigration as a factor in population growth of the Japanese has receded. This has been the case especially since the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1928 when the maximum number of Japanese immigrants admitted annually was reduced

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to one hundred and fifty. It is generally felt, however, that even this number is not desirable and that absolute exclusion of Japanese immigrants is essential. The maximum number is small, they admit, but since women enter as well as men, the admission of even one hundred and fifty provides for a continuous and important population growth in the future.

It is probable that these objections to the Japanese would have no unusual significance in the thinking of the Whites were they considered apart from the fact of the unassimilable character of the Orientals. Groups in British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada receive wages as low or even lower than do the Japanese. Their families work long hours for most inadequate returns and have a comparable low standard of living, and they reproduce as fast or nearly as fast as the Japanese, but they are not unassimilable because of their colour and other physiological characteristics. The Japanese rapidly acquire the cultural characteristics of Canadians, but "cultural assimilation" is relatively unimportant in view of the fact that biologically the Japanese will not become an integral part of the community for a long time to come, if at all. Intermarriage between the Japanese and Whites in Canada has been negligible, and even in Hawaii where the Japanese have been for a longer time and in much larger numbers, intermarriage is very slight. The Whites claim that intermarriage results in the creation of a half-caste population, comparable to the Mulatto group in the United States, and acceptable to neither the White nor the Japanese section of the Canadian community.

Some people profess to think that as the Japanese are readily assimilated culturally, they could within a reasonable time be assimilated by absorption also if given a fair chance. There is no evidence whatever of this. So far there has been practically no

intermarriage between the two races. The Japanese are racially just as proud as white men, and justly so; and there is every reason to say that intermarriage is frowned on equally by both races. There are some people who look upon intermarriage as the ultimate solution; to most white people this is not to be seriously considered, and there is always the "acid test": How would the advocates of intermarriage like their own sisters or daughters to contract a marriage of that nature?³

Some Whites protest further that their alleged loyalty to Japan is destined to prevent community participation on the part of these people in British Columbia. "The Japanese is always a Japanese", is a generalization frequently heard. "There is no denying that loyalty wavers between Japan and Canada among the Japanese in this country", says Professor Black of the University of British Columbia. "The Japanese in B.C. are as loyal to Japanese national traditions as Japanese anywhere in the world."⁴ In this respect, critics of the Japanese appear to think that the second generation does not differ materially from the first. They point to the fact that until recently the Japanese in Canada, whether born here or in Japan, remained citizens of the Island Empire even after they became British citizens by birth or naturalization, and were therefore liable to be called upon for the defence of their homeland. Though the Japanese nationality law was changed in 1924, absolving the Japanese in Canada from the necessity of retaining their citizenship in Japan, many immigrants and their children, it is claimed, still keep their "dual" citizenship, that is, to Japan as well as to Canada. This confirms the fears of many Whites that the Japanese remain Japanese in spite of ready adaptation to the customs of Canada.

³White Canada Association, *British Columbia's Oriental Problem* (Victoria, 1931).

⁴C. L. Shaw, "The Oriental Wants to Vote" (*Maclean's Magazine*, April 1, 1937, p. 46).

The critics point also to the prevalence of the Japanese Language Schools in British Columbia, the education of children in Japan, and the sending of money to relatives as further proofs of this patriotic attachment.

On the international phase of the question, some Whites resent the active interest of the consular representatives of Japan in British Columbia and object to the unusual control they appear to exercise over the Japanese. They feel that with the immigrants and their descendants loyal to their homeland and obedient to its representatives, Canadians are compelled to recognize what is to all intents and purposes "a government within a government". The Whites object also to the more subtle interference implicit in Japanese criticism of restrictive measures against the Japanese in Canada, particularly as these are claimed to be so much at variance with Japanese treatment of Whites and others in Japan.⁵ Whites long resident in Japan, it is said, do not have the rights and privileges of citizens of that country. They also claim that Japan has acted with less generosity to Chinese and Korean labourers who threatened to displace manpower in Japan by their lower standard of living, than have Whites in Canada towards the Japanese immigrants. They concede to Japan the right to rule in her own house as she sees fit, but they claim the same prerogative for British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada. Finally it is contended that the continuous friction between Whites and Japanese resident in Canada may interrupt the harmonious relations which have existed between the Japanese Empire and the British Commonwealth of Nations. Some go even further and argue that the presence of increasing numbers of Japanese on the

⁵Tom MacInnes, *Oriental Occupation of British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1927), p. 19.

North Pacific Coast might actually raise "the spectre of war", because the Whites would not tolerate domination there, or the threat of it by the Japanese.⁶

The personal characteristics to which British Columbia Whites take exception appear to have significance in marking the Japanese as a race apart. A common characteristic is their "clannishness", or tendency to keep to themselves. "There is a strongly entrenched sentiment against giving the Japanese any more concessions, and it is based on a conviction that, despite all the outward show of a few progressives, the Japanese do not want to mix."⁷ Another characteristic of the Japanese which is frequently criticized is their alleged insincerity. While it is generally conceded that the Japanese are courteous and friendly in their personal relations with Whites, some Whites regard this as an ingratiating mask behind which are hidden sentiments of a contrary and even sinister nature. The charge of dishonesty is made and has rather concrete reference to alleged practices involving fraudulent birth certificates, evasion of wage and labour laws, and disregard of the sacredness of business contracts.⁸ It is certainly questionable, of course, whether the Japanese are more unreliable or dishonest than the Whites. The characteristic of the Japanese which appears to irk the Whites possibly more than any other trait is their aggressiveness. This trait was noted shortly after they came to this country, and it remains an earmark of the group in the minds of the Whites to this day. The Japanese are frequently contrasted with the Chinese in this connection to the effect that the latter are amenable

⁶T. H. Boggs, "Oriental Penetration and British Columbia" (*International Forum Review*, vol. I, July, 1926).

⁷Shaw, "The Oriental Wants to Vote", p. 46.

⁸C. E. Hope, "Canada's Oriental Province" (*Country Guide*, Nov., 1930, p. 69).

to restriction, and are willing to accept a low estate in the economic order. The Japanese, on the other hand, want equal status with the Whites and are ready to fight for it in both the economic and political life of the Province. This appears to grate on the nerves of those who look on the Japanese as outsiders and think they should be content with an inferior position in a land which is not their own.

These are the major objections to the Japanese in British Columbia. They are not the conclusions of this study but are a summary of adverse observations spoken or written about the Japanese in the Province. Not all of them are held by individual Whites, none of them is held by all Whites, and not more than a minority of Whites would subscribe to a majority of the criticisms. Whites regard them as important according to the backgrounds and interests of the individual Whites. Nor are these criticisms necessarily true. The attitudes and opinions of persons in opposing groups in a race conflict situation are not necessarily based on fact to be significant in determining the behaviour of the groups with reference to each other. If the objections are assumed to be valid by the persons holding them, they carry with them the weight of facts in the situation. None of the objections to the Japanese appears to assume the superiority of the Whites. Even among rabid exclusionists there is a respect, almost bordering on fear, for the intelligence and enterprise of the Japanese.

Statements given in support of these objections and criticisms either by the Japanese or by Whites defending them, vary widely. The Japanese go back to first principles in denying that the Whites have a peculiar right to regard Canada as their own. Professor Nagai of Waseda University has stated their case in these words: "Australia, South America,

Canada and the United States, have vast tracts of unoccupied territory, yet no yellow people are permitted to enter. To seize the greater part of the earth and refuse to share it is so manifestly unjust that it cannot continue."⁹ Japanese in the Province of British Columbia express themselves on similar lines and say that Columbus did not discover America and that it was inhabited long before by people who were not of the White race. The Whites acquired it by conquest, but have failed to settle its waste places or make full use of its resources. Canada cannot get White immigrants from the only countries from which she is willing to take them. Surely the Japanese who are crowded out from their homeland have, then, a right to settle in the Dominion. Canadians preach Christianity to the Orient, but are they Christian in wanting to keep to themselves a country they cannot people, from others like the Japanese who might help them to do so?¹⁰

The majority of the Japanese, however, appear to be resigned to the idea that further immigration on a numerically significant scale is out of the question. Professor H. F. Angus, of the University of British Columbia, writes of the Canadian-born Japanese: "They know as well as anyone that the presence of greater numbers would be likely to lead to feelings of hostility."¹¹ The older generation know this too, and for this reason the efforts of the Japanese are directed to defending and improving the status of those in Canada and not to making a case for further immigration. As part of this policy, they have been particu-

⁹M. Flowers, *Japanese Conquest of American Opinion* (Garden City, N.Y., 1917, p. 47).

¹⁰Based on interviews with Japanese in British Columbia, summer, 1934.

¹¹H. F. Angus, "More than a Tenth of British Columbia Is Asiatic" (*Vancouver Province*, Sept. 1, 1934).

larly anxious to combat the propaganda which has been broadcast throughout British Columbia concerning the alarming nature of the Japanese birth-rate. They point to the fact that their birth-rate has been high owing to the peculiar circumstances attending their development as an immigrant group, and that as the age and sex composition of their population alters and their living conditions improve, the birth-rate will decline to a level near the birth-rate of the Province. "The birth rate was naturally high [in the early twenties] owing to the favorable age distribution and to the fact that these immigrants were of the laboring class. The number of births increased steadily up to 1925-1930, but since the latter year declined rapidly. This has been caused by the less favorable age distribution, the majority of the Japanese women having now reached the end of the child-bearing period. Consequently, we conclude that the danger of British Columbia being over-run in the course of a few years by Japanese is entirely non-existent."¹²

In defending their presence in British Columbia on economic grounds, the Japanese and their White protagonists challenge the logic of the standard-of-living argument. The Whites in different classes have different standards of living, they say, which makes for unequal advantages in competition. Then why should the Japanese be singled out for special criticism? "Two catch phrases, 'Oriental Penetration' and 'low standard of living' are continually used to propagate the idea that the Japanese are a 'menace to our civilization'. We have examined this question as fully as our data permit, and have found that the

¹²R. Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (a thesis submitted to the Department of Economics of the University of British Columbia, 1935), p. 591.

Japanese number about 4.02 per cent of the industrial workers in B.C., and as such, have very little influence upon the standard of living."¹³ Not content with challenging the logic and importance of the criticism, the Japanese point to their substantial contributions to the economic development of British Columbia, which help to improve the standard of living of all groups in the Province. Influential groups have been only too willing in the early years to avail themselves of their services. Employers, like the Canadian Pacific Railway, the coast canneries, and the mines, arranged for them to be brought to this country. Since then and especially during the war, employers in basic industries have manifested the same need for, and appreciation of, their services. Moreover, in a number of industries the Japanese claim to have made unique contributions. In fishing, they discovered new products such as herring and dog salmon, and they developed new markets for fish in the Orient. In agriculture, especially in the Fraser Valley, they have cleared bush country far back from the river and produced valuable farming land. They have worked hard, often for small remuneration, and they ask if the reward for their labour is to be denied them by indefinite agitation and prolonged discrimination.

In answer to the criticism that the Japanese in British Columbia remain Japanese in heart, spokesmen for the group appear willing to admit that the majority of the first generation are probably loyal to Japan but they do not think they differ materially in this respect from other immigrant peoples. But nearly all of the first generation feel out of place when they return to Japan after a sojourn of two or three decades in Canada. They have changed as individuals and Japan has altered as a nation. If this is true

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 603-4.

of the first generation, it is doubly true of the younger Japanese. The bulk of the second generation would have extreme difficulty in adjusting themselves to a foreign culture, and they have no desire to go to a Japan they have never seen, except for a visit. In both attitudes and customs, they claim they are Canadians and want to be loyal to Canada, in spite of the fact that they are told by some Whites that they are not Canadians and are treated by them as if that were the case. The Japanese in British Columbia according to one of their number states that they "are opposed on the grounds that they are unassimilable. Many of the First Generation Japanese are assimilated in culture, but the majority undoubtedly remain essentially alien. The reverse is true of the Second Generation, of whom the great majority are culturally and mentally Canadian."¹⁴

They deny the sinister meaning given to such of their acts as include the presence of Japanese Language Schools in British Columbia, the sending of money to Japan and the education of their children there, and the alleged unity of action which they manifest in community affairs. It is claimed that all these phenomena are perfectly natural events in the development of an immigrant people in a new environment, and are not a group-characteristic peculiar to the Japanese. The Japanese and their friends point out that other immigrant groups, such as the Poles, Czechs, and Ukrainians, have language schools whose function can be no less subversive and anti-Canadian than that of the Japanese schools in British Columbia. They argue that in sending money to their relatives in the homeland, they follow the common dictates of human affection. The small minority who educate their children in Japan agree that if educated in

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 605.

Canada they might not find an opportunity to use their acquired training, whereas if educated in Japan and if they fail to get work when they return to Canada, they may still get work in Japan. Again, they attribute their group solidarity and concertedness of action not only to their historical background, but also to the fact that in a society which is hostile they must organize and co-operate to protect themselves. They have no desire, they claim, to dominate the Province of British Columbia. They are not here as representatives of a mythical "Octopus of the East", nor as the vanguard of "hordes" of Asiatics who hope to undertake the peaceful penetration of the North Pacific Coast. They have come to Canada in the same way and for the same reason that hundreds of thousands of people of other nations have come, in order to improve their position in life and to bequeath to their children opportunities denied to them.

Finally, criticism to the effect that their presence in British Columbia interferes with the harmonious relations between Canada and the Japanese Empire strikes the Japanese as slightly ironic. They admit that continuous quarrelling between the two racial groups may jeopardize friendly relations with Japan, but they feel that the Whites, not they, are to blame for agitation and discrimination, and for the aggravated ill will which has resulted from such tactics. They and their friends feel no responsibility for this, and they argue that its continuance will not only affect the goodwill but also the important and growing trade between Canada and Japan. According to Professor H. F. Angus,

Our treatment of British subjects of Asiatic race, whether they have acquired British nationality by birth, either in Canada or elsewhere in the British Empire, or whether they have become British subjects by naturalization here or elsewhere, is a domestic

issue and, strictly speaking, not a legitimate concern of any foreign state. But the nature of our treatment of Canadians of Asiatic race may affect the popularity of Canada in Asiatic countries, and indirectly our friendly relations with them.

[Moreover], the importance of friendly trade relations with the Orient is being more and more appreciated. The continuance of these relations must depend on our treating the citizens of Japan and China with courtesy and in a way consistent with their self-respect. It must also depend on our treating our own citizens of Japanese and Chinese race in such a way as to show that we do not consider their race a ground for dislike or hostility.¹⁵

Thus far we have presented the issue in so far as the partisans of one group or the other have recorded them in print or expressed them in interviews. What is offered in the way of a solution to the problem? A month rarely goes by without some individuals contributing their panaceas to one of the larger newspapers in British Columbia. These varied remedies can be reduced to three or four types. As a realistic point of departure, we submit first the programme which has been pursued by the Government of British Columbia and the one which, with modifications, is likely to continue. It is best described as "muddling through". Almost from the beginning of Japanese immigration, the official policy has been one of total exclusion, but since action on this phase of the problem was outside the jurisdiction of the Province, successive administrations have had to content themselves with trying, in vain, to force the hand of the Federal Government towards adopting legislation effecting the exclusion of the Japanese. The practical result of this policy has been the substantial restriction of the immigration of the Japanese by means of the successive Gentlemen's Agreements. Official policy with reference to the Japanese residents has involved

¹⁵H. F. Angus, "Underprivileged Canadians" (*Queen's Quarterly*, summer, 1931).

the enactment of restrictive legislation from time to time in response to demands from pressure groups associated with the industries in which the Japanese were competing. It is not inaccurate to say that the net result has been to leave the situation fundamentally unchanged, since legislative discrimination in one industry has only tended to drive the Japanese into others. Indeed, a case might be made to the effect that conditions are worse than they were formerly. In lumbering, mining, and other industries, it was possible for the provincial government to protect the standard of living of White workers by fixing minimum wages and maximum hours of labour. Exclusion of the Japanese from these industries has driven increasing numbers of them into agriculture where control is practically impossible save along the drastic lines of the California Anti-Alien Land Law.

Other programmes come roughly from two groups. The first of these is rather definitely anti-Japanese in outlook, while the second consists of individuals who either adopt an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the Japanese or express outright sympathy for them. Extremists urge not only the unqualified exclusion of future Japanese immigrants, but also the expulsion of those who are already here. The latter suggestion has never been seriously considered by responsible Whites, not only because of the cost of executing the programme but also because of the grave international complications likely to result.¹⁶ A suggestion made quite seriously by one of the highest-minded of our provincial politicians that,

war being war, and self-preservation the first law of nature, certain laws and regulations of British Columbia, covering tax-sales, minimum wages, and various official inspections of premises, might be so ruthlessly, oppressively and downright dishonestly administered

¹⁶Angus, "More than a Tenth of British Columbia Is Asiatic".

by officials acting under authority of a minister of the crown, and by him abetted and shielded in abuse of their powers as against Orientals, and in favor of all others, that Orientals would be harried and hounded out of business without more ado. That is exactly how the Orientals treat us, of course, whenever and wherever they can.

But the author of the suggestion concludes, "that sort of thing would be hitting below the belt."¹⁷

The same anti-Japanese group includes more responsible citizens officially organized as the White Canada Association. The Honorary Secretary, Mr. Charles E. Hope, has probably been the most prolific and outspoken critic of the Japanese. In a "Brief" prepared at the request of the Standing Committee of the Legislature at Victoria, B.C., March, 1931, the White Canada Association asks,

That the immigration laws be changed so as to prohibit the entry into Canada of any alien who is not capable of being assimilated by absorption or whom we do not wish to absorb, and any alien who, though he might be absorbable, has refused to assimilate culturally (Doukhobors for instance), unless their entry (both classes) has been arranged for by the treaty. We suggest that all people of Asiatic, African or Polynesian race or descent be barred, no matter what their nationality or citizenship (except those now under treaty).

The "Brief" asks that the nationalization laws be changed so as to draw a distinction between a British subject and a Canadian citizen, and that no one of unabsorbable alien descent or parentage as set out above, could acquire Canadian citizenship by virtue of having been born in Canada or in any part of the Empire. Any such unabsorbable alien could acquire citizenship by application, but that such applications should in any case only be granted where the granting of such citizenship was clearly for the benefit of Canada. . . .

¹⁷MacInnes, *Oriental Occupation of British Columbia*, p. 117.

With these changes in existing Canadian laws in effect, the way would be open for negotiating treaties of "Amity", not "Trade" treaties, with any nation either in Asia or Africa, which treaties should recognize the unassimilability of the two races and the impossibility of either country allowing its man power to be replaced in its own country by the nationals of the other, and granting the greatest possible facilities for trade intercourse and education in each country to the nationals of the other, and each country should recognize the other as its equal internationally, politically and racially, but also recognizing that the two races are distinctly different.

The other major group of Whites, whose contact with the Japanese is possibly more disinterested and certainly more friendly and sympathetic, agree with the anti-Japanese groups that no more Japanese immigrants should be allowed to enter Canada, and they hope that those Japanese who are resident in Canada will see to it that no other Japanese emigrate, in the interests not only of those who are here, since it is bound to aggravate the ill will towards them, but also of those who want to come to Canada. Exclusion repels them as harsh and unnecessary and they desire Japan to prevent voluntarily any further emigration. Canadians, they say, must recognize the fact that the Japanese are here to stay, because expulsion is out of the question as it would precipitate serious international complications. The only sensible course, then, to pursue is one of justice to these people. A contrary policy will defeat its own ends, which should be the general welfare of the Canadian community. Discriminatory treatment will only arouse further resentment and will perpetuate conflict with the Whites. The Japanese will increase the efficiency of their organizations in the interests of self-protection and the gap between them and the Whites will continue to widen. Strained relations will naturally be

accompanied by increasing loyalty on the part of our Japanese to Japan to whom they will look for counsel and help. A policy of discrimination against the Japanese can, therefore, do nothing but retard assimilation, forfeit their loyalty, and provoke the ill will of their homeland. Fair treatment of them, on the other hand, will induce the Japanese to participate in the life of the Canadian communities, and eventually to become attached to them, and should help to ensure the maintenance of friendly relations with Japan. For all these reasons, it is claimed, the Japanese, particularly the second generation who are Canadian by birth and training, should be given their economic and political rights. Temporary maladjustment may ensue as a result of advantages which the Japanese may enjoy in competition in a few industries, but this will be neither widespread nor significant and will disappear with the rising standard of living of the group.

Still others feel that in addition to the foregoing proposals, the Japanese in British Columbia should be encouraged to settle in other parts of the Dominion. They point to the fact that in 1931 there were 19,456 Negroes in the Dominion, or only 3,886 less than the Japanese population. Yet no one hears of the Negroes as an important population group. The contrast in attitudes toward these groups is due in part to the international importance of Japan and the character of its people; it is also due to the fact that the Negroes are scattered over the Dominion, while roughly one-third of the Japanese are in the city of Vancouver, and two-thirds are in Vancouver and its immediate hinterland, the Fraser Valley. The problem, they contend, is one of congestion. The number of Japanese is really insignificant but they are nearly all in a very limited area and are confined to a few industries

and trades in that region. Dispersal of the Japanese should, therefore, aid materially in the solution of the problem. Let more Japanese move east of the Rockies, they say, especially in metropolitan areas where foreign groups are not as conspicuous and where a few hundred or thousand Japanese would only add to the colour of city life.

A dispassionate observer of the immigration situation will admit, we believe, that it was unfortunate for both Japanese and Whites that the former were ever permitted to settle in Canada, because conflict between the two groups appears to have been inevitable from the beginning. The experience of other countries, and notably of the United States, was sufficient to indicate that conflict was certain to develop once two groups so radically different in race and culture should meet. The trouble which has occurred at times seems to have been unavoidable. There is reason to believe that much more serious disturbances between the Japanese and Whites in British Columbia was only prevented because of the slow but steady restriction of the movement by means of the successive Gentlemen's Agreements.

Under the circumstances, it is idle to complain that such restriction is un-Christian or is evidence of a "dog-in-the-manger" attitude on the part of the Whites. In such situations, these attitudes, however regrettable, are not the peculiar property of the Whites. If Whites here and in other countries persist in treating the people of other races in the unfair and unjust manner in which they have dealt with the Japanese in British Columbia in spite of Christian teaching and preaching, we must conclude that the attitude of the Whites is not likely to change. If this is admitted, it has an important bearing on the immigration phase of the problem at the present time.

Although Japanese immigrants are not in excess of one hundred and fifty per year, yet so long as they are allowed to come, they keep alive the whole question of Japanese immigration and prejudice the position of the Japanese. The best thing that Japan could do in the interest of people of Japanese extraction living in the Dominion would be to restrict voluntarily all further emigration to Canada. Her willingness to negotiate the successive Gentlemen's Agreements would indicate that her authorities are aware of the fact.

Japanese who are residents of British Columbia can no longer be seriously regarded as a menace nor even as a serious problem. Even if one hundred and fifty immigrants continue to arrive annually, they will not add materially to the population growth of the Japanese, especially as compared with the probable growth of all other groups in the Province. The high birth-rate of the first generation appears to be on the decline, partly because the immigrants are rapidly moving out of the child-bearing age group and are not being replaced immediately by the members of the second generation, but also because the birth-rate of the Japanese in British Columbia, as of their compatriots in Japan,¹⁸ is beginning to respond to the same forces which have caused a decline in the birth-rates of practically all countries in the civilized world.

Difficulties with the Japanese, apart from the question of population growth, have arisen almost exclusively in connection with the invasion of different trades and industries. After the Japanese threatened to overrun a particular industry, it has been the practice of provincial authorities to step in and enact legislation of a drastic nature in order to prevent the calamity. Governmental action has been undertaken

¹⁸H. G. Moulton, *Modern Japan* (Washington, 1931).

in response to agitation in connection with a particular industry, and has been proclaimed from the house-tops as a piece of official discrimination directed specifically against the Japanese, generally against the Orientals. This stimulated resentment on the part of the Japanese and aggravated the conflict with the Whites. Since action was invariably postponed until the Japanese had made great inroads in a particular industry, protection of the Whites involved not only the exclusion of Japanese, but the expulsion of many who had invested years of labour and the earnings of a lifetime in the industry. This harsh treatment has continued. Driven out of one industry, the Japanese went into others, and the whole procedure was repeated. The general result of the policy has been to inflict unnecessary hardship on a sensitive people and to keep them in a state of continuous uncertainty and insecurity while the solution of the problem was indefinitely deferred until such time as the Whites in all industries threatened by the Japanese, received protection by governmental intervention.

If protection must be given to White workers, it seems that it might be done in a manner which would not involve recurring agitation and discrimination against the Japanese. A quota system permitting the Japanese to enter all or selected occupations to the extent that their proportion of the population justified their presence in them would involve less friction, greater protection to the Whites, and less discrimination against the Japanese. Quotas could be arrived at by negotiations between representatives of the Japanese community in the Province and officials of the Department of Labour. The conference method employed to determine the quotas might prove as beneficial in improving relations between the racial

groups as the introduction of the system.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, British Columbia has been gradually moving in the direction of a quota system to regulate Japanese participation in the economic life of the Province, without, however, getting the benefits which might accrue from its official adoption now. British Columbia has in effect established quotas for the Japanese in both fishing and lumbering, but only after bitter agitation in each case compelled the Government to act. The quota policy for these and other industries could be presented as an effort to protect the Whites and to give justice to the Japanese. The pin-pricking restrictions which reflect credit neither on the justice nor the intelligence of the political leaders of the Province would thereby be avoided.

The establishment of quotas might also help to eliminate the controversy over the citizenship status of the Japanese in British Columbia. So long as the voters' list of the Province remains an important means of keeping the Japanese out of certain occupations, their citizenship status will be a subject of fruitless debate. Open measures jointly arrived at by Japanese and Whites, and doing justice to both, would avoid this device without generating so much ill will. The future citizenship status of the Japanese depends not only on the elimination of the voters' list as a technique of official discrimination against these residents of British Columbia, but also on the removal of the "peaceful penetration" myths based on the high birth-rates and rapid economic development of the Japanese. Since there is no longer any reason for regarding these myths seriously, they may be expected to recede gradually from the picture provided that the

¹⁹The quota system is a practical technique. Czechoslovakia uses the quota system in attempting to satisfy the demands of the German minority in the country.

standard of living of the White workers is protected by a quota system or some other means. Otherwise, individuals threatened by the Japanese may be expected to keep alive the myths as a part of their agitation against these competitors.

It is not expected that any measures can eliminate immediately the factors contributing to the conflict between the Japanese and the Whites. The antagonism between the two groups is deeply rooted in group attitudes of a strongly sentimental and emotional nature. The essentially un-rational character of these attitudes implies that they will be very slow to change. All that a programme can do is to offset to a certain extent the influence of those factors which aggravate the antipathy of the two groups towards each other. If such a programme of amelioration were to achieve no more than this, however, it would go a long way towards improving the lot of the Japanese, and towards raising the moral tone of all the groups affected by this unhappy and unwholesome situation. There are undoubtedly those who do not seek this end, for whom agitation against the Japanese appears to have acquired some of the characteristics of a crusade. But for the majority of the people in the Province, anxious to bring up their families in an atmosphere removed from the bigotry and intolerance of race conflict, and desirous of living at peace with the nations bordering on the Pacific Ocean, there can be no alternative.

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PART II

ORIENTAL STANDARDS OF LIVING

CHAPTER I

ORIENTAL POPULATION¹

ACCORDING to the Census of 1931 the total number of Japanese in British Columbia was 22,205 (13,335 male and 9,170 female) and of Chinese 27,139 (24,900 male and 2,239 female). The difference in the sex distribution of the Chinese and Japanese is significant particularly for the future of these races in British Columbia. Assuming that there is no further immigration of Chinese or Japanese women in the future, and that the present restrictions on Oriental immigration continued, the Chinese population is likely to decrease, while the Japanese are likely to increase to some extent. Owing to imperfections of the vital statistics of Orientals in British Columbia, due to delay or failure to register all births, it is difficult to forecast accurately population trends. A crude estimate of the change in Oriental population in British Columbia since the 1931 Census indicates that the expectation with regard to the trend of Chinese and Japanese population is being realized, with a reduction in the number of Chinese to 25,494 in 1933, and an increase in the number of Japanese to 23,915.²

¹See table I.

²See table II.

TABLE I
CHINESE AND JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1886-1934

Year*	Japanese entered	Chinese entered	Chinese exempted	Chinese paying tax	Chinese registered for leave	Total revenue
1886.....	For particulars	212	1	211	829	\$ 11,693
1887.....	of early	124	...	124	734	7,424
1888.....	Japanese	290	...	290	868	15,694
1889.....	immigration see	894	112	782	1,322	40,808
1890.....	"Supplementary	1,166	97	1,069	1,671	56,258
1891.....	Table no. I,"	2,126	12	2,114	1,617	107,785
1892.....	being extract	3,284	6	3,276	2,168	166,502
1893.....	from	2,258	14	2,244	1,277	113,491
1894.....	<i>Report of Royal</i>	2,109	22	2,087	666	105,021
1895.....	<i>Commission on</i>	1,462	22	1,440	473	72,475
1896.....	<i>Chinese and</i>	1,786	24	1,762	697	88,800
1897.....	<i>Japanese</i>	2,471	24	2,447	768	123,119
1898.....	<i>Immigration</i>	2,192	17	2,175	802	109,754
1899.....	1902.	4,402	17	4,385	859	220,309
1900.....	6	4,257	26	4,231	1,102	215,102
1901.....	...	2,544	26	2,518	1,204	178,704
1902.....	...	3,587	62	3,525	1,922	364,972
1903.....	...	5,329	84	5,245	2,044	526,744
1904.....	...	4,847	128	4,719	1,920	474,420
1905.....	354	77	69	8	2,080	6,080
1906.....	1,922	168	146	22	2,421	13,521
1907.....	2,042	291	200	91	2,594	48,094
1908.....	7,601	2,234	752	1,482	3,535	746,535
1909.....	495	2,106	695	1,411	3,731	713,131
1910.....	271	2,302	688	1,614	4,002	813,003
1911.....	437	5,320	805	4,515	3,956	2,262,056

TABLE I (continued)

Year	Japanese entered	Chinese entered	Chinese exempted	Chinese paying tax	Chinese registered for leave	Total revenue
1912.....	765	6,581	498	6,083	4,322	\$3,049,722
1913.....	724	7,445	367	7,078	3,742	3,549,242
1914.....	856	5,512	238	5,274	4,143	2,644,593
1915.....	592	1,258	103	1,155	4,373	588,124
1916.....	401	88	68	20	4,064	19,389
1917.....	648	393	121	272	3,312	140,487
1918.....	883	769	119	650	2,907	336,757
1919.....	1,178	4,333	267	4,066	3,244	2,609,669
1920.....	711	544	181	363	5,529	538,479
1921.....	532	2,435	1,550	885	6,807	474,332
1922.....	471	1,746	287	1,459	7,532	743,032
1923.....	369	711	59	652	6,682	434,557
1924.....	448	674	49	625	5,661	334,039
1925.....	501	.....	.....	.....	5,992	308,659
1926.....	421	.....	.....	.....	3,947	25,969
1927.....	475	.....	.....	.....	5,987	14,844
1928.....	478	3	1	2	5,087	25,679
1929.....	445	1	1	.....	5,480	30,795
1930.....	194	.....	.....	.....	5,682	30,799
1931.....	204	.....	.....	.....	5,783	28,846
1932.....	195	.....	.....	.....	4,387	11,584
1933.....	115	1	1	.....	3,626	9,152
1934.....	104	2	2	.....	2,156	7,237

*1886-1906, fiscal year ending June 30; 1907, nine months ending March 31; 1908-34, fiscal year ending March 31.

SOURCE: 1900-17, Superintendent of Immigration, Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports*.
1918-34, Dominion Department of Immigration and Colonization, *Annual Reports*.

TABLE II
ESTIMATED CHINESE AND JAPANESE POPULATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
1931-3

	Immigrant arrivals*		Adjusted births		Deaths		Estimated population before adjusting for departures			Natural increase	DEPARTURES*			Not returning within allowed period	Net change	Adjusted estimate
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Male	Female	Both sexes		Under certificate to return	Without certificate	Departs	Both sexes	Both sexes	Both sexes
Chinese																
1931†							24,900‡	2,239	27,139							27,139‡
1932	37	36	97	11	97	11	24,840	2,264	27,104	-35	4,137	251	75	464	-825	26,314
1933	73	75	192	15	174	23	24,721	2,324	27,045	-59	3,436	241	73	118	-373	25,941
	77	64					24,624	2,365	26,989	-56	2,011	198	75		-447	25,494
Japanese							13,035‡	9,170	22,205							22,205‡
1931†	85	110	200	37	58	37	13,262	9,448	22,710	505					505	22,710
1932	43	72	356	61	95	61	13,566	9,793	23,359	649					649	23,359
1933	56	49	319	69	107	69	13,834	10,081	23,915	556					556	23,915

*Immigration Department figures are for the fiscal years ending March 31.
†It is assumed that one-half the 1931 births and deaths occurred in the latter half of the year. The same figures are used here for calendar years.
‡From the 1931 Census, taken as at June 30, 1931.

SOURCE: "Births" and "Deaths", Report of the Deputy Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Province of British Columbia; immigration figures, Dominion Department of Immigration and Colonization, *Annual Report*; departures, information supplied by F. W. Taylor, Controller of Chinese Immigration, Vancouver.

A crude study of the probable number of Chinese and Japanese going on the labour market in British Columbia during the years 1936-40 gives the following results.

TABLE III

NET DECREASE OF MALE CHINESE GOING ON LABOUR MARKET
1936-40

Year	Number of male Chinese going on labour market	Number of anticipated male deaths affecting labour market	Net decrease
1936.....	84	174	90
1937.....	95	173	78
1938.....	81	173	92
1939.....	78	172	94
1940.....	94	172	78
TOTAL DECREASE.....			432

TABLE IV

NET INCREASE OF FEMALE CHINESE GOING ON LABOUR MARKET
1936-40

Year	Number of female Chinese going on labour market	Number of anticipated female deaths affecting labour market	Net increase
1936.....	10	1	9
1937.....	12	1	11
1938.....	9	1	8
1939.....	10	1	9
1940.....	9	1	8
TOTAL INCREASE.....			45

TABLE V

NET INCREASE OF MALE JAPANESE GOING ON LABOUR MARKET
1936-40

Year	Number of male Japanese going on labour market	Number of anticipated male deaths affecting labour market	Net increase
1936.....	466	62	404
1937.....	544	65	479
1938.....	615	68	547
1939.....	632	71	561
1940.....	673	75	598
TOTAL INCREASE.....			2,589

TABLE VI

NET INCREASE OF FEMALE JAPANESE GOING ON LABOUR MARKET
1936-40

Year	Number of female Japanese going on labour market	Number of anticipated female deaths affecting labour market	Net increase
1936.....	64	4	60
1937.....	74	4	70
1938.....	81	5	76
1939.....	90	5	85
1940.....	84	5	79
TOTAL INCREASE.....			370

There will likely be a net increase of 2,589 male Japanese on the labour market and a net decrease of 432 male Chinese. It is anticipated that there will be an increase of 45 female Chinese on the labour market in the same period, and an increase of 370 female Japanese.

The preponderance of Japanese in the age group

1 to 14 years, and of the Chinese in the group 35 to 54 years is shown in table VII. The Oriental population of British Columbia classified by age groups, and as urban and rural, for 1931, shows a difference between the distribution of Chinese and Japanese, the preponderance of the older Chinese being found in urban centres (table VIII). The distribution of Chinese and Japanese in various occupations shows a comparatively even distribution of Japanese in agriculture, fishing, and unskilled labour, and a preponderance of Chinese in the unskilled labour outside agriculture, mining, and logging. A considerable number of these would be employed in sawmills and shingle mills, a large proportion of which would be

TABLE VII

CHINESE AND JAPANESE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUPS, 1931

AGE GROUP	CHINESE			JAPANESE		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total, all age groups.....	24,900	2,239	27,139	13,035	9,170	22,205
0-4.....	380	335	715	1,696	1,698	3,394
5-9.....	417	454	871	1,567	1,512	3,079
10-14.....	358	312	670	1,142	1,045	2,187
15-19.....	383	251	634	957	649	1,606
20-24.....	749	165	914	716	633	1,349
25-29.....	917	133	1,050	805	724	1,529
30-34.....	1,477	158	1,635	1,017	834	1,851
35-39.....	3,166	118	3,284	916	816	1,732
40-44.....	4,539	113	4,652	1,312	519	1,831
45-49.....	4,229	77	4,306	1,137	365	1,502
50-54.....	3,450	61	3,511	918	197	1,115
55-59.....	2,319	30	2,349	468	116	584
60-64.....	1,556	17	1,573	229	40	269
65 and over.....	798	15	813	107	21	128
Not stated.....	162		162	48	1	49

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, 1931.

located in urban centres. The personal service group among the Chinese is also large, and this again would apply mainly to urban centres, accounting for the difference in the distribution of the two races.

TABLE VIII
CHINESE AND JAPANESE POPULATION, RURAL AND URBAN, OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUPS, 1931

AGE GROUP	CHINESE		JAPANESE	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Total, all age groups.....	6,366	20,773	11,821	10,384
0- 4.....	117	598	1,827	1,567
5- 9.....	143	728	1,526	1,553
10-14.....	99	571	1,052	1,135
15-19.....	100	534	771	835
20-24.....	159	755	712	637
25-29.....	232	818	840	689
30-34.....	409	1,226	998	853
35-39.....	699	2,585	946	786
40-44.....	1,035	3,617	1,033	798
45-49.....	940	3,366	852	650
50-54.....	914	2,597	673	442
55-59.....	627	1,722	347	237
60-64.....	533	1,040	153	116
65 and over.....	321	492	79	49
Not stated.....	38	124	12	37

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census and Vital Statistics Branch.

The regional distribution by census divisions of the Oriental population in 1931 shows the preponderance of Oriental population in the lower Fraser Valley, including Vancouver, and on Vancouver Island, including Victoria (table IX). The distribution of the urban population (table X) shows the importance of large centres. The difference in the Oriental population in the cities of Victoria, Vancouver, and New Westminster in 1911, 1921, and 1931 (table XI) indicates a very considerable increase in the Oriental

population, both Chinese and Japanese, in Vancouver, the Chinese in Vancouver amounting in 1931 to 47.9 per cent of the total Chinese population in the Province, and the Japanese population in Vancouver amounting to 47.5 per cent of the total Japanese population.

Statistics as to the conjugal condition of the Oriental population in 1931 (table XII) are not

TABLE IX
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ORIENTAL POPULATION IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1931

CENSUS DIVISION	CHINESE			JAPANESE		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
One.....	366	35	401	55	17	72
Two.....	562	27	589	53	11	64
Three.....	1,032	40	1,072	553	323	876
Four.....	14,316	1,211	15,527	9,126	7,069	16,195
Five.....	6,323	800	7,123	1,918	1,168	3,086
Six.....	1,000	61	1,061	40	37	77
Seven.....	456	4	460	599	229	828
Eight.....	268	32	300	7	5	12
Nine.....	560	29	589	684	311	995
Ten.....	17		17			
TOTAL.....	24,900	2,239	27,139	13,035	9,170	22,205

SOURCE: *Census of Canada, 1931.*

TABLE X
DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN ORIENTAL POPULATION IN BRITISH
COLUMBIA, 1931

Size of urban areas	Chinese	Japanese
<i>Distribution of urban population</i>		
Cities of 30,000 population and over..	16,713	8,625
Cities and towns of 1,000 to 30,000 population.....	3,764	1,746
Villages under 1,000 population.....	296	13

SOURCE: *Census of Canada, 1931.*

TABLE XI

GROWTH OF ORIENTAL POPULATION IN CITIES OF VANCOUVER,
VICTORIA, AND NEW WESTMINSTER, 1911-31

Location	Census year	Oriental population*
<i>Chinese population</i>		
Vancouver.....	1911	3,559
	1921	6,484
	1931	13,011
Victoria.....	1911	3,458
	1921	3,441
	1931	3,702
New Westminster.....	1921	747
	1931	599
British Columbia.....	1911	19,568
	1921	23,533
	1931	27,139
<i>Japanese population</i>		
Vancouver.....	1911	2,036
	1921	4,246
	1931	8,328
Victoria.....	1911	182
	1921	225
	1931	297
New Westminster.....	1921	424
	1931	601
British Columbia.....	1911	8,587
	1921	15,006
	1931	22,205

*SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, 1931.

TABLE XII

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE POPULATION,
RURAL AND URBAN, FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1931

CONJUGAL CONDITION	CHINESE			JAPANESE		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Single.....	1,280	4,479	5,759	6,536	5,987	12,523
Married.....	4,572	12,442	17,014	5,076	4,202	9,278
Widowed.....	50	118	168	190	149	339
Divorced.....	11	1	12	9	14	23
Not given.....	463	3,733	4,196	10	32	42

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census and Vital Statistics Branch.

particularly significant as they do not indicate, in the case of those who are married, whether the wives and families are in British Columbia or in China or Japan. An attempt to make a segregation on the basis of information supplied in the Census Reports (table XIII) indicates that in the case of the married Japanese the preponderance have their wives and families in British Columbia, while in the case of the Chinese a large proportion have their wives and families in China.

The literacy of Oriental population is shown in table XIV. The number of Orientals in British Columbia schools and the total school population for the years 1923-34, with a segregation into rural, district and city, elementary and High schools since 1928 (table XV) is an indication of the interest in education. Since the opening of the University of British Columbia in 1915, 34 Japanese and 11 Chinese have graduated.

TABLE XIII

AN ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIED CHINESE AND MARRIED
JAPANESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA ACCORDING TO PLACE OF
RESIDENCE OF FAMILY

	Number of both sexes reported married	Number of males over 19	Number of females over 19	Assuming that all females over 19 are married:	
				Number of males probably having wives in Canada	Number of males probably having wives in Orient
Chinese	17,014	23,200	887	887	15,240
Japanese . . .	9,278	7,625	4,265	4,265	748

TABLE XIV

LITERACY OF THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE POPULATION, TEN YEARS
OF AGE AND OVER, RURAL AND URBAN, FOR BRITISH
COLUMBIA, 1931

	CHINESE			JAPANESE		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Total, 10 years and over	6,106	19,447	25,553	8,468	7,264	15,732
Can read and write	3,837	16,585	20,422	7,367	6,517	13,884
Can read only	87	36	123	54	29	83
Cannot read or write	2,182	2,826	5,008	1,047	718	1,765

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census and Vital Statistics
Branch.

TABLE XV
NUMBER OF ORIENTALS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOLS

YEAR	ELEMENTARY			HIGH			TOTAL		
	Chinese	Japanese	Total School population	Chinese	Japanese	Total School population	Chinese	Japanese	Total School population
1923.....							1,346	1,422	94,888
1924.....							1,423	1,725	96,204
1925.....							1,313	2,414	97,954
1926.....							1,397	2,477	101,688
1927.....							1,310	2,915	105,008
1928.....	1,087	3,109	94,663	108	164	13,516	1,195	3,273	108,179
1929.....	1,150	3,377	95,013	169	297	14,545	1,369	3,674	109,588
1930.....	1,171	3,634	96,342	167	410	14,675	1,338	4,014	111,017
1931.....	1,161	3,713	97,717	164	415	16,197	1,325	4,128	113,914
1932.....	1,355	4,365	97,785	168	337	18,134	1,523	4,702	115,919
1933.....	1,209	3,559	98,264	174	509	18,552	1,383	4,068	116,816
1934.....	1,170	4,342	96,860	210	615	18,932	1,400*	5,176†	115,792

TABLE XV (continued)
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

	RURAL		DISTRICT		CITY	
	Chinese	Japanese	Chinese	Japanese	Chinese	Japanese
1928.....	914	1,436	102	1,269	71	404
1929.....	993	1,646	80	1,282	77	449
1930.....	972	1,722	86	1,435	113	477
1931.....	951	1,754	90	1,506	120	453
1932.....	1,131	2,176	139	1,613	85	576
1933.....	1,060	1,261	81	1,660	68	638
1934.....	1,043	2,194	82	1,605	45	543

*Includes 20 Chinese in Superior Schools.

†Includes 219 Japanese in Superior Schools.

TABLE XVI
COUNTRY OF ALLEGIANCE OF ORIENTAL POPULATION, 1901 AND 1931

	NUMBER OF CHINESE RESIDENTS			NUMBER OF ALIENS OWING ALLEGIANCE TO CHINA			NUMBER APPARENTLY BRITISH SUBJECTS OF CHINESE ORIGIN		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Canada, 1901.....	43,051	3,468	17,312	38,165	988	16,375	4,886	2,480	937
1931.....			46,519			39,153			7,366
British Columbia, 1901.....	24,900	2,239	14,885	22,681	628	14,201	2,219	1,611	684
1931.....			27,139			23,309			3,830
	NUMBER OF JAPANESE RESIDENTS			NUMBER OF ALIENS OWING ALLEGIANCE TO JAPAN			NUMBER APPARENTLY BRITISH SUBJECTS OF JAPANESE ORIGIN		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Canada, 1901.....	13,803	9,539	4,738	5,161	2,605	3,612	8,642	6,934	1,126
1931.....			23,342			7,766			15,576
British Columbia, 1901.....	13,035	9,170	4,597	4,872	2,528	3,516	8,163	6,642	1,081
1931.....			22,205			7,400			14,805

SOURCE: *Census of Canada, 1931.*

The country of allegiance, in 1901 and 1931, of Chinese and Japanese residents is shown in table XVI. The religious denomination of the Oriental population, rural and urban, in 1931 is given in table XVII.

TABLE XVII

CHINESE AND JAPANESE POPULATION, RURAL AND URBAN, CLASSIFIED BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1931

DENOMINATION	CHINESE			JAPANESE		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Total.....	6,366	20,773	27,139	11,821	10,384	22,205
Anglicans.....	85	272	357	508	732	1,240
Baptists.....	5	15	20	118	43	161
Presbyterians.....	55	260	315	54	48	102
Roman Catholics..	46	47	93	51	157	208
United Church....	244	734	978	2,486	2,303	4,789
Christians, n.o.s....	55	151	206	149	38	187
Confucians and Buddhists.....	5,118	12,742	17,860	7,877	6,830	14,707
No religion.....	250	2,253	2,503	127	52	179
Others and not stated.....	508	4,299	4,807	451	181	632

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census and Vital Statistics Branch.

The fundamental differences between the characteristics of the Chinese and Japanese population in British Columbia and the age and sex distribution of both races as shown in these tables point to a highly unstable condition.

CHAPTER II

THE CHINESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

THE date of the first arrival of the Chinese is not definitely known, but there is evidence that they came from California, and were part of the gold rush to the Fraser River in 1858. It was estimated that by 1860 about two thousand were engaged in the gold fields. The number does not appear to have increased materially until after 1870. Proposals were then made for their exclusion from employment in public works, and for the imposition of a head tax. The movement for restriction of immigration of the Chinese, and of their economic activities, continued throughout the seventies. Anti-Chinese petitions were presented to the Government by the White workers on Vancouver Island and in Vancouver. By this date the Chinese had begun to arrive direct from China. In 1879 a Parliamentary Select Committee on Chinese Labour and Immigration was appointed but was limited in its examination of the problem in that evidence was taken at Ottawa, and consequently only a few witnesses appeared who were directly familiar with the situation on the Pacific Coast. One witness estimated the Chinese population at about 6,000, probably an exaggeration. Another, representing the Federal constituency of Cariboo in the House of Commons, when asked "In what respects are their presence in any country an injury to it?" replied: "This is the case because they are a separate race from the Whites, they do not amalgamate with the Whites nor do they adopt our customs. They live among themselves. They have their own religion and also they have secret societies, by means of which to a

very great extent they are governed. They contribute very little to the wealth of the country, and to a certain extent they impoverish it by competing with White men who, if they settled permanently in the country, would improve it.”¹ The same witness, in answer to the question “In what way are they objectionable?” stated: “Well, they reduce the rate of wages to a certain extent, and they very often prevent White people from getting employment.” It was stated that they could live on ten cents a day.

It was estimated that at that time there were in the Province about 300 Chinese domestic servants, 150 shoemakers, 300 laundrymen, 100 tailors, 700 general labourers, 1,800 gold miners, 50 pedlars, 1,500 gardeners and farm hands, and 1,100 employed in the fisheries. Even at this early date the Chinese were successful competitors in market gardening, working with great patience and industry from early morning until late at night. By hard labour, and a lower standard of living, they were able to undersell the Whites and gradually oust them from this occupation.

These early arrivals apparently came to the Pacific Coast with no intention of remaining permanently. It was their custom to save all the money they could and to return to their homeland when they had saved from \$500 to \$1,000, which evidently permitted them to live in some degree of comfort on the basis of the standards in their own country. It was the custom for Chinese companies to provide funds for the passage to British Columbia, these being repaid out of the wages earned.

The Chinese engaged in the fishing industry were employed mostly in the canneries, and at wages from \$25 to \$35 per month. The employment was seasonal,

¹*Canada, Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. XIII, 1879, appendix no. 4.

and on its completion they would seek other work. There were no Chinese employed in the lumber camps except as cooks. A few had even then started in the hotel business. It would appear from the evidence that there was a shortage of labour, particularly for the more undesirable types of work, and that the Chinese contributed to the economic development of British Columbia. However, it was claimed that had the Chinese not been available, White labour would have been attracted. The Committee recommended that "Chinese immigration was not to be encouraged and that Chinese labour was not to be employed on Dominion public works".

The next considerable immigration of Chinese to British Columbia was in connection with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was found difficult to secure sufficient White labour for construction in the mountain section. Opposition to immigration was met by the suggestion of Sir John A. Macdonald, that the sojourn of these Chinese would be only temporary, and that they would return to their own country on completion of the railway. Between 1881 and 1884, it was estimated that over 15,000 Chinese arrived in the Province. This immigration met with strong opposition and a motion was made in the House of Commons "That in the opinion of this House it is expedient to enact a law prohibiting the incoming of Chinese to that portion of Canada known as British Columbia" but it was withdrawn on the promise that a Commission would be appointed to enquire into and report upon the whole subject of Chinese immigration.²

Great care must be exercised in analysing the evidence presented to this Commission, as statements made and evidence offered were influenced by the

²*Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, 1885, p. 1.*

personal attitude of the witnesses, whether friendly or antagonistic to the Chinese. It would appear, however, that the Chinese were industrious, sober, and law-abiding. In many cases the Chinese fell foul of the law not so much because of any deliberate desire on their part to break the law, but because many of the customs and practices with which they were familiar in China were entirely at variance with the customs in British Columbia, and lawlessness was the result of ignorance rather than intention. Chinese conditions of living, particularly in matters of cleanliness and sanitation, formed a strong contrast when transplanted to British Columbia. Over-crowding, lack of knowledge of sanitation and of disease, and indifference to human life, created conditions that were often revolting to the White population.

It would appear that of the Chinese brought into the Province to assist in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway a large number remained. In 1881, there were 4,383 Chinese in Canada (4,350 in British Columbia, 22 in Ontario, 7 in Quebec, and 4 in Manitoba), and in 1884 almost 10,000 Chinese in British Columbia, about 3,500 of whom were engaged in railway construction. In 1885, a \$50 head tax was imposed on Chinese entering Canada, and the number of immigrants entering was limited to one for every fifty tons of freight carried. These provisions were not particularly effective, and it was estimated that by 1900 when the head tax was increased to \$100,³ over 28,000 Chinese had entered the Province. In 1891 there were 9,129 Chinese in Canada (8,910 in British Columbia, 97 in Ontario, 36 in Quebec, 31 in Manitoba, 8 in New Brunswick, 5 in Nova Scotia, 1 in Prince Edward Island, and 41 in the North West Territories); and in 1901, 16,792 Chinese (14,376 in

³*Statutes of Canada*, 63-64 Vict., c. 32.

British Columbia, 712 in Ontario, 1,044 in Quebec, 206 in Manitoba, 59 in New Brunswick, 104 in Nova Scotia, 4 in Prince Edward Island, and 287 in the North West Territories).

In 1902 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into Chinese and Japanese immigration. The Chinese in Canada had come principally from the Province of Kwang-Tung, in the vicinity of Canton, and belonged to the coolie or farm labourer class, having a low standard of living, with food consisting chiefly of rice, cabbage and other vegetables, and fish. Their mode of living, the position of women, the value placed on human life and comfort, were very different from those in Canada. As they had no intention of permanent settlement, assimilation was not their objective. Knowledge of our language and customs was obtained as far as was necessary from an economic point of view. Chinese customs and habits of life were retained, and modified only in a minor degree as economic or legal necessity demanded.

They were brought to Canada through emigrant agencies known as "Barraccon Houses", which had sub-agents in the various Chinese villages who collected emigrants. Passages were paid and deducted from the earnings of the immigrant. Very few Chinese women were brought over, and in many Chinese communities in British Columbia there were no women. They lived in segregated communities known as "Chinatowns", and in which there was almost unbelievable overcrowding, and an almost complete disregard for sanitation. In 1896 it became necessary to have Chinese houses in the city of Vancouver destroyed for sanitary reasons, and similar measures had to be taken in Victoria in 1900.

A Chinese boarding house in Victoria, occupied by

the better class of Chinese labourers, cooks, and domestics was described as follows.

Ascending a narrow stairway we enter what had apparently once been a large room, some 18 x 30 feet, with a 10 foot ceiling, but which had an additional floor, occupying a position nearly midway between the floor and the ceiling, thus making two stories out of one. The lower floor was divided off into small rooms reached by a number of narrow hallways, each room containing three low bunks covered with a Chinese mat. In many cases a double tier of these bunks was observed. The covering, in a moderately clean condition, consists of a mat and one or two quilts. The second or upper floor was reached by a short stairway. Here no attempt seems to have been made at a division of space, at least by partitioning, but at intervals a small mat is spread out on the floor with some regularity, by which each individual is enabled to locate his own particular claim. In many cases even a third floor exists, reached usually by a narrow rickety stairway, into which the occupant crawls upon his hands and knees. Here we found an almost entire absence of light and ventilation, the occupants using a small smoky, open lamp, to discover their respective locations, the fumes from which add to the discomfort of the surroundings.⁴

The houses of common labourers were

of the most primitive character, one storey high, usually containing one small window, and often but one small pane of glass. The material used in construction is the commonest rough lumber with no attempt at architectural design or taste, simply thrown together as if intended for but temporary occupation, somewhat resembling a railroad or lumberman's camp, and certainly no improvement upon either. Entering a long, dark, narrow alleyway, our guide leading the way by striking a match at intervals, stumbling over a muddy, uneven walk, the faint glimmer of a light appears in the distance, emanating from a small, dirty window, casting a yellow glow upon the smoky and soot-covered walls on the opposite side of the alley, revealing a net-work of small, partly covered passages leading in all directions through this human beehive. Approaching an entrance, our guide at length located the latch, and unannounced, rudely pushes open the door. We enter a small 10 x 10 foot room without a ceiling. A small table occupies the centre of the room, upon which stands a small, open, badly smoking

⁴*Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, 1902, p. 15.

oil lamp; at its side an opium bowl containing a thick, dark substance resembling coal tar, which is being stirred at intervals by one of the occupants of the room, with a small iron spoon.⁵

Market gardening was almost entirely in the hands of the Chinese who paid very high rents which were impossible in the case of the Whites. In the Vancouver Island Colliery 568 Chinese were employed and 51 Japanese. It was stated that Oriental miners did not produce as much as the Whites, and that because of their lack of knowledge of the English language they were considered to be a danger underground. Chinese were paid \$1.25 a day for eight hours underground, and \$1.50 a day for ten hours on the surface, while the average earnings of White miners at that time were \$4.00 a day. Chinese were employed in the Cariboo district in gold mining, about 600 being employed by the companies, and a further 400 working claims of their own. There were no Chinese employed in lode mining except as cooks, or on the surface. In the lumber industry Chinese were paid from \$1.00 to \$1.25 per day, while the lowest wages for Whites were \$2.00 per day. This wage situation made certain occupations in which Chinese were employed undesirable to Whites. The superintendent of the New Vancouver Coal Company, who had been in that position for 18 years, gave the following evidence:

"Q"—From your own observations do you think the Chinese show any tendency at present to live up to our standard?

"A"—None whatever. There is no difference whatever in their practices that I have observed.

"Q"—If they would assimilate with our people, do you think it would be desirable in the interests of our country?

"A"—I should think they would not. Assimilation covers not only habits of life, but would imply intermarriage with the people which would not be desirable here. It would be very undesirable

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

for any foreign nationality to be largely imposed upon us. The standard of living and the mode of living of the Chinese are largely removed from that of the white worker in the same calling. A white man might live and support a family on the wages paid a Chinaman, but certainly it would be little better than starvation.

In the shingle industry the Chinese were employed in taking the bolts from the water to the mill and in packing the shingles by contract. No Japanese were employed in the mills, but were engaged by contract in shingle bolt cutting. The sawyers were all Whites.

Of 10,000 workers employed in the fish canneries, about 6,000 were Chinese with wages from \$35.00 to \$45.00 per month. They were supplied by contractors, who furnished the workers with provisions for which they made a charge. One operator of a cannery stated that:

No cannery on the Coast has ever successfully employed exclusively white labor. The Chinese are steady in their habits, reliable in their work and reliable to make contracts with. They won't strike while you have a big pile of fish in your dock. They are less trouble and less expense than the whites. They are content with rough accommodation at the canneries. If you employ white people you have to put up substantial buildings with every modern appliance, only to be occupied six weeks in the year. The canneries draw upon all other industries for their Chinese labor. Quite a few domestics come to work.⁶

In one cannery in New Westminster, the average wage paid to Chinese in 1897 for a day of ten hours was \$1.48, an average per month of twenty-six days of \$38.54; in 1898, \$1.44 per day and \$37.58 per month; in 1899, \$1.51 per day and \$39.39 per month; and in 1900, \$1.54 per day and \$40.15 per month. In the same years the average for a White worker per month was \$79.58, \$75.71, \$77.71, \$77.21, and \$80.91. The difference between the wages of Chinese and White

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 145.

workers would indicate very definite differences in standards of living, and possibly also in efficiency.

The Chinese were looked upon as undesirable in the community not only from the point of view of difference in race but because of economic competition. The *Report of the Royal Commission*, 1902, states:

That they are employed in many industries is readily understood. They are noted for faithful observance of contracts, they are docile, plodding and obedient to servility, easily obtained through boss contractors, accept accommodation unfit and intolerable to a white man, working in gangs under a Chinese boss who has the contract, and who makes his profits chiefly in furnishing them supplies at a high price.

A glance at the conditions under which the white working man and the Chinese compete will show how unfair this competition is. The one is expected to discharge the ordinary duties of citizenship to himself, his family and his country; rent must be paid, food provided, and the family decently clothed; yet he is put in competition with one who does not assume any of these duties, and who lives under conditions insufferable to a white man. Fifty cents a month or less pays the rent, a few cents a day supplies the food, he has no home, wife or family in this country; he shows no desire to change, he is well content as he is until such time as he can return to China and take his savings with him. Fifty years or more on this continent has made little or no change in him or in his manner of living.

The fact is established beyond all doubt, that under present conditions the white labouring man cannot compete with the Chinese and decently support his family. It is wholly illusory to say that wages are fair for the ordinary working man. He may get work at odd jobs which a Chinaman cannot do, but the real avenues for unskilled labour that are afforded by the natural industries of the province are practically closed against him, while the cost of living is very much higher than in the east.⁷

After the *Report of the Royal Commission*, the head tax was increased to \$500 in 1904.⁸ This tax was paid by all Chinese immigrants except consular officers, merchants, clergymen, and their families,

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 276-7.

⁸*Statutes of Canada*, 3 Edw. VII, c. 8.

tourists, men of science, students, and teachers. Immigration in 1904 was 4,847 and in 1905, 77. By 1908, however, the problem of the head tax had apparently been solved since 2,224 Chinese entered Canada in that year. In 1909, 2,106 entered; 1910, 2,302; 1911, 5,320; 1912, 6,588; 1913, 7,145; 1914, 5,512; 1915, 1,258. This large increase in Chinese immigration led to further attempts at restriction. An Order-in-Council was passed in December, 1913, prohibiting the landing in British Columbia of both skilled and unskilled artisans, and provision was made for the exclusion of immigrants coming to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they were natives or citizens.⁹ Chinese continued to enter Canada as students or merchants, and apparently facilities were not available to enforce effectively the Order-in-Council. With the outbreak of war, the difficulty of securing transportation, and the dangers of ocean travel, only 89 Chinese immigrants were recorded in 1916. In 1919 the number increased to 4,333 but this increase was not maintained in succeeding years.

In 1923 the Chinese Immigration Act was passed which still governs the situation.¹⁰ This Act limits the landing in Canada of persons of Chinese race irrespective of allegiance or citizenship to:

- (a) members of the diplomatic corps or other government representatives, their suites and servants, and consuls and consular agents;
- (b) children born in Canada of parents of Chinese origin or descent, who have left Canada for educational or other purposes on substantiating their identity to the satisfaction of the Controller at the port or place where they seek to enter on their return;
- (c) merchants as defined by such regulations as the minister may prescribe; students coming to Canada for the purpose of attending, and while in actual attendance at, any Cana-

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 13-4 Geo. V, c. 38.

dian University or college authorized by statute or charter to confer degrees;

(d) persons in transit through Canada.

As a result of this legislation no Chinese entered Canada in 1925, 1926, or 1927; three entered in 1928; one in 1929; none in 1930, 1931, or 1932; one in 1933; and two in 1934. Immigration of Chinese has been effectively stopped. Cessation of Chinese immigration is particularly important in view of the age and sex distribution of the Chinese in Canada, and has particular bearing on their economic position in British Columbia. It is important in an estimate of future developments of the Chinese problem.

Provision is made by the Canadian government for Chinese to leave Canada for a visit to their own country up to a period of two years without prejudice to their re-entry. A study of the figures of the Chinese registered for leave and the Chinese returning would indicate that since 1926 there has been a definite decrease in the Chinese population of Canada through failure of those registered to return. These numbered 3,590. This decrease is augmented by those who leave Canada and who do not register for leave.

CHINESE LEAVING CANADA THROUGH BRITISH COLUMBIA PORTS

Fiscal year	Chinese registered for leave	Chinese who did not return within allowed period	Chinese leaving British Columbia without outward registration
1925-6.....			122
1926-7.....	5,573	473	264
1927-8.....	4,731	335	213
1928-9.....	5,033	465	185
1929-30.....	5,222	427	243
1930-1.....	5,418	435	233
1931-2.....	4,137	464	251
1932-3.....	3,436	Nil	241
1933-4.....	2,011	118	198
1934-5.....	1,948	880	199

SOURCE: Information supplied by F. W. Taylor, Controller of Chinese Immigration, Vancouver.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONS IN RELATION TO STANDARDS OF LIVING

THE standard of living of the Orientals in British Columbia is affected very definitely by the occupations in which they are engaged. There are differing standards among Orientals somewhat similar to those found among the White population.

According to the Census of 1931, the total number of Chinese ten years of age and over gainfully employed was 22,999.¹ Of this number 8,203, or 35.6 per cent, are found in the class of labourers and unskilled workers outside of the industries of agriculture, mining, and logging, and includes unskilled workers in saw mills and shingle mills who, according to the Minimum Wage Regulations of the Province, must be paid at least twenty-five cents an hour. This class of work is generally paid the lowest wages, and is an explanation for the low standard of living of a large percentage of the Chinese. The next largest group, in the personal services, amounts to 5,182, or 22.5 per cent, and includes restaurant and cafe keepers, tavern keepers, lodging and boarding house keepers, housekeepers, waiters, bell boys, janitors, watchmen, caretakers, hotel managers and keepers, elevator tenders, boot blacks, barbers, cooks, domestic servants, hospital orderlies, charworkers, window cleaners, *etc.* With the exception of those in the proprietary class, the income would not be high. The next largest group, in the agricultural industry, amounts to 4,193, or 18.2 per cent, of whom the largest number, amounting to 2,781, or 12.1 per cent of the total gainfully em-

¹See table I.

ployed, were engaged as farm labourers, with low incomes.

The fourth largest group, engaged in commercial activities² of various kinds, numbered 1,841, or 8.0 per cent of the total gainfully employed, and included 830 in retail trade; 548 salesmen and saleswomen; 420 hawkers and pedlars. The income of this group was higher than that of the unskilled workers or farm labourers, but it was still comparatively low. Chinese engaged in laundry work, cleaning and dyeing numbered 749; in logging, 653, in which occupation certain types of work are highly paid, but in which, in the main, Orientals are badly paid. In the fish canneries 304 were employed and were exposed to a seasonal industry and low wages. In transportation and communication 420 Chinese were employed; 130 on the railways as section foremen, sectionmen, and trackmen; 329 in water and road transportation; 132 seamen, sailors, or deckhands; 79 truck drivers; 51 longshoremen or stevedores; 33 chauffeurs or bus drivers. The income of this group would be somewhat higher. Chinese in the textile and wearing apparel industry numbered 203 (177 tailors and tailoresses), who would have low incomes.

The Chinese employed in the above occupations constitute 95 per cent of the total ten years of age and over, gainfully employed. On the basis of occupation alone, the income of a large proportion, and consequently their standard of living, could not be otherwise than low.

The total number of Japanese ten years of age and over gainfully employed in 1931 was 7,852. The largest group, 1,513, is engaged in agriculture, 830 are farm labourers, 487 farmers, and 190 gardeners, florists, and nurserymen. Apart from a few isolated

²See tables I and II.

instances, Orientals have not gone in for mixed farming, dairy farming, or tree-fruit farming. Japanese are engaged mainly in the growing of small fruits, with which is combined poultry raising on a small scale.

The next largest group, in the fishing industry, numbered 1,464. According to a study³ made of the income of Japanese fishermen at Steveston, one of the main fishing centres of the Province, the gross income for fishermen was \$1,082, of which approximately \$395 was required for operating expenses and depreciation, leaving a net income of \$687, which would appear to be fairly representative of the income of Japanese fishermen in other districts. Japanese employed in the fish canneries are paid about thirty-five cents an hour. The income of the Japanese at Ucluelet, a fishing centre on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, appears to be somewhat higher, and their standard of living comparable to the Whites in that district.

The next largest group, numbering 1,441, is that of labourers and unskilled workers not engaged in agriculture, mining, or logging industries and would include, as in the case of the Chinese, a number employed in the saw mills and shingle mills. The income would be comparable to that of the Chinese.

In the case of the Japanese a large proportion, namely 56.3 per cent, of those ten years of age and over gainfully employed, is found in agriculture, fishing, or unskilled work. The next largest group is that of personal services, numbering 839 and including: domestic servants, 197; cooks, 122; lodging and boarding house keepers, 98; barbers and hairdressers, 72; bell boys, porters, *etc.*, 68; janitors, 47; and waiters,

³R. Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (a thesis submitted to the Department of Economics of the University of British Columbia, 1935). See tables I and III.

46. The income of this group varied, the restaurant and boarding house keepers and barbers securing a considerably higher income than the others, whose income was comparable with that of the unskilled group. Japanese engaged in logging numbered 599 of whom 570 were engaged as lumbermen, whose income would be low. Including these latter groups, about 75 per cent of the Japanese are engaged in low income occupations.

Japanese engaged in commercial enterprises numbered 419, 230 being engaged as salesmen and saleswomen. The income varied, wholesale importers and exporters and retail store owners having an income so high as not to be comparable with those engaged in other commercial occupations, the incomes of the latter being comparable with those of unskilled workers.

In the transportation industry, 238 were employed, 42 as section foremen, sectionmen, or trackmen on the railways, 51 as seamen, sailors, or deckhands, 39 as truck drivers, 30 as chauffeurs or bus drivers, 23 as engineering officers, and 16 as firemen and trimmers on ships.

In the manufacture of wood products in a total of 230, 76 were sawyers, 40 wood turners, planers, or wood machinists, 34 inspectors, graders, and scalers, and 22 canoe and boat builders and repairers.

Of 181 engaged in building and construction, 162 were carpenters. The pulp and paper industry employed 131. In these latter occupations there is a much larger proportion of Japanese employed than Chinese, which would indicate a greater tendency for the Japanese to find their way into the skilled industries and to have consequently a higher standard of living. In the professions there were 88 and in clerical work 103, which is a higher proportion of the

total working Japanese population than is the case with the Chinese, who numbered 78 in the professions and 124 in clerical occupations.

The following⁴ is the order of importance of industries with respect to the number of Japanese employed: lumber industries, food products manufacturing, pulp and paper, explosive chemicals, coast shipping, manufactures of wood, n.e.s., ship building, coal mining, miscellaneous trades and industries, printing and publishing, smelting, laundries, cleaning and dyeing, metal mining, metal trades, breweries, oil refining, garment making, contracting, producers of builders' material. The increase in the number of Japanese females employed in industry is seen to have taken place mainly in the manufacture of food products and chiefly in the fish canneries, with 348 Japanese women employed in 1934. In this particular branch they are displacing the Indian women because of greater efficiency. Thirty-nine Japanese women were employed in the fruit and vegetable canneries.

The order of importance of industries with respect to the number of Chinese employed is:⁵ manufacture of food products, lumber industries, coast shipping, coal mining, explosives, producers of builders' material, pulp and paper manufacturing, smelting, metal mining, manufactures of wood, n.e.s., laundries, garment making, printing and publishing, miscellaneous trades and industries, street railway, gas, water, and power, metal trades, oil refining, breweries and distilleries. The two chief industries are the manufacture of food products and the lumber industries, including logging, saw mills, and shingle mills. In the latter the work is mainly unskilled.

⁴See tables I and IV.

⁵See tables I and V.

A study of the Census figures for 1931 indicates that 13.05 per cent of the total Chinese gainfully employed were employed as wage-earners, and 35.52 per cent of the total Japanese.

It is difficult to secure accurate information with regard to the actual earnings of Orientals. Reports of wages paid in the various occupations are made to the Department of Labour, but no reports are made for individual employees, nor is any report made of the length of time the employee works throughout the year. The Provincial Department of Labour publishes in its *Annual Report* a frequency distribution of weekly wage rates for the week of greatest employment in each of the chief industries which indicate the range of possible earnings of Orientals, assuming a knowledge of the particular wage group in which the Orientals are found. From a study of the position of the Orientals in industry it is reasonably safe to assume that the majority of the Orientals would be found in the low wage groups. The Department of Labour also published statistics of the nationality of the employees in industry in British Columbia which show the total employed, but do not indicate labour turnover. This constituted a difficulty in making use of the reported wage rates and arriving at an estimate of earnings, but an attempt has been made to do this for the main industries in which a large number of Orientals are employed.⁶

In each industry the total number of Orientals employed was taken with the lowest weekly wage in the wage schedule of that industry on the assumption that the Orientals would be found in the low wage groups. The number of Orientals employed in that particular industry was applied to the wage frequency distribution, and it was assumed that the Oriental

⁶See table VI.

wage-earners would be found in this section of the wage schedule. For example, in 1934 there were in the coal mining industry in British Columbia 154 Oriental wage-earners. Counting from the low point in the wage schedule, which in this case was \$6.00 per week, we find that the earnings of the 154th worker in the schedule would have been \$16.99. It was assumed that the Oriental wage-earners in this industry would be found within this range. The same method was applied to the other industries for the period 1920-34.⁷ Since a large number of Orientals is employed in the forest industries and as all the various branches of this industry are included under one heading in the *Report* of the Department of Labour, this was broken down into its constituent parts, namely, logging, planing mills, saw mills and shingle mills from information secured from the files of the Department.⁸

A study of the information shows a wide spread between the upper and lower wage limits of the group in which it is assumed the Orientals would be found which does not give very significant information with regard to the actual earnings of individual Orientals or of any major group. An attempt was made to narrow the range of this wage spread by finding the modal group or point of greatest concentration of workers in each of the wage spreads. If 66 2/3 per cent or more of the workers are included in the modal group, the wage spread may be considered significant.⁹ In some cases the tables show two modal groups which probably indicates that within the Oriental group in certain industries, there are distinctions between unskilled and semi-skilled or skilled workers.

⁷See table VI.

⁸See table VII.

⁹See tables VIII and IX.

This information indicates the possible earnings of Orientals in British Columbia industry. To find the actual earnings, it would be necessary to know the number of weeks throughout the year in which they were employed. As most of the industries in British Columbia are seasonal, it is probable that a large proportion of the Orientals would not work more than eight months on the average. Further, British Columbia industries, being mainly primary industries and dependent on outside markets, are subject to considerable fluctuations in activity which affect the economic position of Oriental wage-earners, as well as of White wage-earners employed in the same industry. Industries such as logging, fruit and vegetable canning, fish canning, *etc.*, are definitely seasonal. In recent years employment in saw mills, shingle mills, and in wood manufacturing, has been fairly steady throughout the year, but employment depends chiefly on external demands for the products.

The possible earnings of the majority of the Orientals employed in industry in British Columbia is inevitably low. In the logging industry, assuming a complete year's work, the total maximum earnings would have been \$884, but since employment would not be continuous, but would range from six to nine months, the actual earnings would be between \$500 and \$600. In the saw mill industry in the same year, the possible maximum earnings would have been \$780. Employment would have been more continuous in these and in shingle mills, where maximum possible earnings would have been \$1,040. Referring to table VII which indicates the earnings of the modal groups in these industries, it will be found by multiplying the weekly wage rate by fifty-two that the range of possible earnings in 1934 of the modal group in logging was \$624 to \$832, in the case of saw mills, \$624 to

\$780, and in the case of shingle mills, \$988 to \$1,040. It was not possible in this study to do more than indicate possible limits of earnings, but this indicates the economic position of large groups of Orientals in the Province.

An attempt has been made to discover whether or not there is a tendency on the part of the Oriental immigrant to change his occupation from that in which he was engaged in his home country. In the reports of the Department of Immigration, Oriental immigrants are segregated in certain broad occupational groups, namely farmers and farm labourers, general labourers, mechanics, clerks, traders, *etc.*, miners, female servants, and not classified. The occupations mentioned in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics report on "Orientals, Ten Years of Age and Over, Gainfully Employed by Race, Occupation and Sex, in the Province of British Columbia, Census 1931", were grouped to correspond as far as possible with the classification of the Department of Immigration. A comparison¹⁰ between the declared occupations of immigrants and the occupations of the Oriental population in British Columbia in the earlier period shows in the case of the Chinese a smaller percentage declaring themselves in the farmer and farm labourer class as compared with the larger percentage in that class in British Columbia in 1931. In the case of general labourers, a larger percentage is shown in 1931, but this would probably be accounted for by the number in the unclassified group, who would find their way into the general labourer class. Moreover, the 1931 classification includes not only immigrants who remained in British Columbia, but also British Columbia born Orientals.

For Orientals engaged in various types of economic

¹⁰See tables X and XI.

activity but not as wage-earners, there are no official records which would give assistance in securing information as to their earnings. In the case of the greenhouse industry, while the number of operators both Oriental and White has increased in the years 1923-35, the increase in the case of the Orientals has been much greater. While increasing absolutely in numbers in the industry, the Whites¹¹ have decreased relatively from 90.8 per cent of the total growers in 1923 to 66.4 per cent in 1935, and the Orientals have increased from 9.2 per cent of the total in 1923 to 33.6 per cent in 1935. While in 1923 the Oriental growers operated 28.7 per cent of the area, they operated 51.1 per cent in 1935.¹² In the case of the Whites, 71.3 per cent of the area was operated by them in 1923 and 48.9 per cent in 1935. There was an actual increase in the area under glass in the case of the Whites of 40 per cent from 1923 to 1935, and an increase of 77 per cent in the case of the Orientals.

In the small fruits (berry) industry¹³ in British Columbia in 1934, the White growers numbered 78 per cent of all growers, but operated only 54.6 per cent of the acreage, while the Orientals numbered 22 per cent of all growers and operated 45.4 per cent of the acreage. In the case of the White growers, the decrease in relative acreage operated¹⁴ has been much larger than that in the relative number of operators. In many cases berry growing is only part of the total farm occupation in the case of the Whites, while more generally it forms the complete operation in the case of the Orientals. In the Fraser Valley strawberries were particularly important for Orientals.

¹¹See table XII.

¹²See table XIII.

¹³See table XIV.

¹⁴See tables XV and XVI.

It is very difficult to ascertain the earnings of Orientals where they are their own employers. From material obtained from questionnaires the average earnings of 102 Japanese farmers in 1933 was \$2,091, and of 14 Chinese in 1930, \$735 and in 1933, \$402, but no very definite conclusions can be drawn from these figures.

TABLE I
ORIENTALS, TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, GAINFULLY EMPLOYED BY RACE, OCCUPATION, AND SEX, 1931

OCCUPATION	CHINESE			JAPANESE			HINDUS			OTHER ASIATIC			TOTAL ORIENTALS		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Partially segregated															
Total, all occupations.....	22,999	22,838	161	7,852	7,196	656	827	822	5	161	135	26	31,839	30,991	848
<i>Agriculture</i>	4,193	4,185	8	1,513	1,465	48	166	166		11	11		5,883	5,827	56
Farmers and stock raisers..	403	401	2	487	477	10	41	41		4	4		935	923	12
Gardeners, florists and nurserymen.....	992	992		190	187	3	44	44		2	2		1,228	1,225	3
Farm labourers.....	2,781	2,775	6	830	795	35	81	81		5	5		3,697	3,656	41
Others in agriculture...	17	17		6	6								23	23	
<i>Fishing, hunting and trapping</i>															
Fishermen.....	19	19		1,464	1,464		6	6		7	7		1,496	1,496	
Hunters.....	18	18		1,464	1,464		6	6		7	7		1,495	1,495	
	1	1											1	1	
<i>Logging</i>															
Lumbermen.....	653	653		599	599		10	10		4	4		1,266	1,266	
Others in logging.....	647	647	6	570	570		7	7		4	4		1,228	1,228	
	6	6		29	29		3	3					38	38	
<i>Coal mining</i>															
Miners.....	307	307		62	62								369	369	
Labourers.....	169	169		60	60								229	229	
Others in coal mining...	129	129		1	1								130	130	
	9	9		1	1								10	10	
<i>Other mining</i>															
Miners.....	84	84		39	39					1	1		124	124	
Labourers.....	50	50		2	2								52	52	
Others in other mining..	29	29		32	32					1	1		61	61	
	5	5		5	5								11	11	
<i>Vegetable products</i>															
Bakers.....	25	25		14	11	3				2	2		41	38	3
Others in vegetable pro- ducts.....	20	20		6	6					2	2		28	28	
	5	5		8	5	3							13	10	3

(continued on next page)

TABLE I (continued)

OCCUPATION	CHINESE			JAPANESE			HINDUS			OTHER ASIATIC			TOTAL ORIENTALS		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Partially segregated															
<i>Animal products</i>	400	399	1	76	70	6							476	469	7
Fish cannery and curers...	304	303	1	27	21	6							331	324	7
Butchers, slaughterers, trimmers.....	11	11											11	11	
Boot and shoe makers and repairers, not in factor- ies.....	49	49		24	24								73	73	
Others in animal products.	36	36		25	25								61	61	
<i>Textile goods and wearing apparel</i>	203	199	4	128	40	88				10			341	244	97
Owners, managers.....	16	16		4	3	1				1			21	20	1
Tailors and tailoresses...	177	177		25	21	4				3			206	201	5
Dressmakers.....	2		2	50		50				1			53		53
Dressmakers' apprentices.	1		1	24		24				2			27		27
Others in textile and apparel.....	7	6	1	25	16	9				2	1		34	23	11
<i>Wood products</i>	150	150		230	230		17	17					397	397	
Owners, managers.....	1	1		18	18		4	4					23	23	
Foremen, overseers.....	12	12		13	13		4	4					29	29	
Sawyers.....	87	87		76	76		6	6					169	169	
Wood turners, planers, wood machinists.....	15	15		40	40		3	3					58	58	
Inspectors, graders and scalars.....	13	13		34	34								47	47	
Canoe and boat builders.	1	1		22	22								23	23	
Others in wood products..	21	21		27	27								48	48	
<i>Pulp and paper, paper products</i>															
Paper makers.....	1	1		131	131								132	132	
Other machine operatives.	1	1		10	10								10	10	
Others in pulp and paper.				92	92								93	93	
				29	29								29	29	

(continued on next page)

TABLE I (continued)

OCCUPATION	CHINESE			JAPANESE			HINDUS			OTHER ASIATIC			TOTAL ORIENTALS		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Partially segregated															
<i>Printing, publishing, book-binding.....</i>	32	32		21	21					1			54	54	
<i>Compositors, printers.....</i>	29	29		13	13					1			43	43	
<i>Others in printing.....</i>	3	3		8	8								11	11	
<i>Metals—not electroplate or precious metals.....</i>	42	42		82	82		1	1		6	6		131	131	
<i>Millwrights.....</i>	1	1		23	23								24	24	
<i>Filers and grinders.....</i>	15	15		4	4								19	19	
<i>Mechanics, n.e.s.....</i>	17	17		31	31					4	4		52	52	
<i>Others in metals.....</i>	9	9		24	24		1	1		2	2		36	36	
<i>Precious metals and electroplate</i>															
<i>Jewellers, watch makers</i>	7	7		1	1					1	1		9	9	
<i>and repairers.....</i>	5	5		1	1								7	7	
<i>Others in precious metals.</i>	2	2					1	1					2	2	
<i>Non-metallic mineral products.</i>															
<i>Furnace and kilnmen</i>	18	18		6	6								24	24	
<i>burners.....</i>	17	17		2	2								19	19	
<i>Others in non-metallic products.....</i>	1	1		4	4								5	5	
<i>Chemical processes and paint makers.....</i>	11	11		20	20								31	31	
<i>Processmen and furnacemen.....</i>	6	6		20	20								26	26	
<i>Other chemical processes.</i>	5	5											5	5	
<i>Miscellaneous products.....</i>	2	2		2	2								4	4	

(continued on next page)

TABLE I (continued)

OCCUPATION	CHINESE			JAPANESE			HINDUS			OTHER ASIATIC			TOTAL ORIENTALS		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Partially segregated															
<i>Electric light and power</i>															
production.....	45	45		49	49		1	1					95	95	
Boiler firemen.....	34	34		26	26		1	1					61	61	
Oilers of machinery.....	10	10		11	11								21	21	
Others in electric light...	1	1		12	12								13	13	
<i>Building and construction</i>															
Carpenters.....	37	37		181	181		1	1		5	5		224	224	
Painters, decorators,	31	31		162	162					5	5		198	198	
glaziers.....	2	2		9	9								11	11	
Others in building.....	4	4		10	10		1	1					15	15	
<i>Transportation and communication</i>															
Section foremen,	470	470		238	237	1	24	24		11	10	1	743	741	2
sectionmen.....	130	130		42	42		3	3					175	175	
Captains, mates, and pilots				10	10								10	10	
Engineering officers.....				23	23					2	2		25	25	
Seamen, sailors, and															
deckhands.....	132	132		51	51					1	1		184	184	
Firemen, trimmers.....	10	10		16	16								26	26	
Pursers, stewards.....	12	12		3	3								15	15	
Longshoremen, stevedores	51	51		5	5					6	6		63	63	
Chauffeurs, bus drivers..	33	33		30	30		1	1					64	64	
Truck drivers.....	79	79		39	39		12	12		1	1		131	131	
Teamsters, draymen, and															
carriage drivers.....	5	5		6	6		1	1					12	12	
Deliverymen, drivers,															
n.e.s.....	5	5		1	1		3	3					9	9	
Others in transportation.	13	13		12	12	1	3	3		1		1	29	27	2

(continued on next page)

TABLE I (continued)

OCCUPATION	CHINESE			JAPANESE			HINDUS			OTHER ASIATIC			TOTAL ORIENTALS		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Partially segregated															
<i>Warehousing and storage</i>	81	81		17	16	1	1						99	98	1
Packers, wrappers, labellers.....	80	80		4	3	1							84	83	1
Others in warehousing...	1	12		13	13		1	1					15	15	
<i>Commercial</i>	1,841	1,793	48	419	357	62	85	85		40	34	6	2,385	2,269	116
Owners, managers, dealers, retail.....	830	819	11	136	110	26	57	57		18	17	1	1,041	1,003	38
Owners, managers, dealers, wholesale.....	23	23		19	19		2	2		1	1		45	45	
Hawkers and peddlers...	420	420		1	1		22	22		1	1		444	444	
Purchasing agents, buyers				24	24								24	24	
Salesmen and women....	548	511	37	230	195	35	3	3		18	13	5	799	722	77
Brokers' agents, n.e.s....	16	16		3	2	1							19	18	1
Others commercial.....	4	4		6	6		1	1		2	2		13	13	
<i>Finance and insurance</i>	16	16		15	15					2	2		33	33	
Insurance agents.....	8	8		12	12					2	2		22	22	
Others in finance.....	8	8		3	3								11	11	
<i>Public administration and defence</i>	4	4		3	3								7	7	
<i>Professional</i>	78	70	8	88	61	27	7	7		2	2		175	140	35
Clergymen and priests...	7	7		13	13		3	3					23	23	
Physicians and surgeons..	3	3		2	2					1	1		6	6	
Dentists.....	3	3		2	2								5	5	
Nurses, graduate and in training.....				9	9	9							9	9	9
Health professionals, n.e.s.	6	6		6	6								12	12	

(continued on next page)

TABLE I (continued)

OCCUPATION	CHINESE			JAPANESE			HINDUS			OTHER ASIATIC			TOTAL ORIENTALS		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Partially segregated															
<i>Professional (continued)</i>															
Teachers, school.....	21	13	8		32	17	15						53	30	23
Authors, editors, and journalists.....	4	4			6	6		1	1				11	11	
Musicians and music teachers.....	13	13			1		1						14	13	1
Photographers.....	4	4			5	5							9	9	
Others in professional...	17	17			12	10	2	3	3	1	1		33	31	2
<i>Entertainment and sport.....</i>															
	22	22			19	19				3	3		44	44	
<i>Personal.....</i>															
Restaurant, cafe, and tavern keepers.....	5,182	5,102	80	839	449	390	18	15	3	18	9	9	6,057	5,575	482
Lodging and boarding house keepers.....	257	256	1	19	13	6				2	1	1	278	270	8
Matrons, stewards, housekeepers.....	52	37	15	98	24	74	3		3				153	61	92
Waiters, waitresses, and dining car stewards....	35	28	7	21	3	18							56	31	25
Bell boys, porters (not railway).....	547	514	33	46	22	24				2	1	1	595	537	58
Janitors, sextons.....	38	38		68	68								106	106	
Keepers, guards, watchmen, n.e.s.....	141	140	1	47	46	1							188	186	2
Hotel managers, and keepers.....	12	12		25	25		5	5		1	1		43	43	
Elevator tenders.....	19	19		5	5								24	24	
Barbers, hairdressers, manicurists, and apprentices.....	38	38		6	6								44	44	
Cooks.....	70	66	4	74	27	47	1	1		4	1	3	149	95	54
Domestic servants, n.e.s..	2,964	2,960	4	122	87	35	9	9		4	3	1	3,099	3,059	40
Others in personal.....	997	982	15	297	115	182	5			5	2	3	1,299	1,099	200
	12	12		11	8	3							23	20	3

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TABLE I (concluded)

OCCUPATION	CHINESE			JAPANESE			HINDUS			OTHER ASIATIC			TOTAL ORIENTALS		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Partially segregated															
<i>Laundry workers, cleaners, dyers, and pressers.....</i>	749	749		50	38	12				4	4		803	791	12
Owners, managers.....	106	106		9	6	3				1	1		116	113	3
Washing and drying machine operators.....	15	15		1	1					2	2		15	15	
Ironers and pressers.....	28	28		23	19	4				1	1		31	31	
Cleaners and dyers.....	7	7		17	12	5							31	27	4
Other laundrymen, n.e.s..	593	593		17	12	5							610	605	5
<i>Clerical.....</i>	124	115	9	103	90	13	2	2		7	3	4	236	210	26
Stenographers and typists	4	1	3	11	2	9				2	2	2	17	3	14
Bookkeepers and cashiers.	63	60	3	27	24	3				3	2	1	93	86	7
Others in clerical (office clerks).....	57	54	3	65	64	1	2	2		2	1	1	126	121	5
<i>Unspecified.....</i>				2	2								2	2	
<i>Labourers and unskilled workers, not agricultural, mining, or logging.....</i>	8,203	8,200	3	1,441	1,436	5	488	486	2	26	25	1	10,158	10,147	11

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1931.

TABLE II
NUMBER OF TRADE LICENCES ISSUED TO ORIENTALS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1925 AND 1935
Districts

	Burnaby		Chilliwack		Coquitlam		Delta		Esquimalt		Fraser Mills		Glenmore		Kent	
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese....	14	33	11	2	3	3	7	3	8	13	9	4			5	4
Japanese....	1	4		1			1	1		2	7	5	1			1
Hindus.....		4							1							
	Langley		Maple Ridge		Matsqui		North Cowichan*		Oak Bay		Penticton		Pitt Meadows		North Vancouver	
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese....		1	6	3	2	2	15		12	17	13	7	2		10	8
Japanese....	3		5	12	2	3	5								2	2
Hindus.....					3	3							7		2	5

(continued on next page)

TABLE II (continued)
Districts (continued)

	Richmond*		Sannich*		Salmon Arm		Summer-land		Surrey		West Vancouver		TOTALS	
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese....	5		20			1		1	6	2	11	5	162	109
Japanese....	87						1			4		1	112	43
Hindus.....	3										2	4	11	13

*No returns in 1935.

(continued on next page)

TABLE II (continued)

Villages

	Abbotsford		Burns Lake		Creston		Hope		McBride		Mission		New Denver		Pouce Coupe	
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese.....	3	3		4	1	3		5	1	1	8	6		1		2
Japanese.....											1	4				
	Quesnel		Silverton		Smithers		Terrace		Vanderhoof		Williams Lake		TOTAL			
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese.....		9		1	4	6		3	1	1		7		18		52
Japanese.....					2	2								3		6

(continued on next page)

TABLE II (continued)

Cities

	Alberni		Armstrong		Chilliwack		Courtenay		Cranbrook		Cumber- land		Duncan		Enderby	
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese....		1	7	4	3	3	3	4	25	16	1	1	24	25	4	4
Japanese....							1	1	7	5	5	3	7	7		
Hindus.....											1	3	4			
	Fernie		Grand Forks		Green- wood		Kamloops		Kaslo		Kelowna		Ladysmith*		Merritt	
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese....	13	8	4	3	1	6	41	40	5	2	14	19	5		14	6
Japanese....							4	4			2	3			1	1
Hindus.....							2	2								

(concluded on next page)

TABLE II (*concluded*)*Cities (continued)*

	Nanaimo		New Westminster		North Vancouver		Port Alberni		Port Coquitlam		Nelson		Port Moody		Prince George	
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese....	28	18	53	34	20	17	6	12	1	2	26	16	11	8	12	8
Japanese....	1		12	23	6	4	1	4					4	3	18	14
Hindus.....				1		6	1							1		

	Prince Rupert		Revelstoke		Rossland		Salmon Arm		Trail		Vancouver†		Vernon		Victoria		Total	
	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935	1925	1935
Chinese....																		
Japanese....	27	22	16	10	4	17	5	8	21	23	1,065	622	17	15	341	190	1,817	1,164
Hindus....											823	758			12	18	900	848
											49	36			11	21	66	67

*No returns in 1935.

†In 1935 there were also in Vancouver trade licences issued to Chinese for 1 electrician, 1 florist, and 1 furrier; and to Japanese, 3 florists, 1 commercial school.

TABLE III

SALMON FISHING LICENCES ISSUED IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1922-33

YEAR	SALMON TROLLING				SALMON GILL-NET			
	Whites	Indians	Japanese	Total*	Whites	Indians	Japanese	Total*
1922.....	743	438	332	1,513	1,470	1,032	1,989	4,491
1923.....	698	499	249	1,446	1,468	1,094	1,193	3,755
1924.....	773	552	225	1,550	1,335	1,045	1,179	3,559
1925.....	1,073	539	191	1,803	1,676	1,196	1,015	3,887
1926.....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
1927.....	2,193	657	155	3,005	2,816	1,158	912	4,886
1928.....	2,144	644	155	2,943	2,505	1,020	938	4,463
1929.....	1,871	565	156	2,592	2,503	1,163	912	4,578
1930.....	2,268	648	161†	3,115	2,709	1,267	953§	6,061
1931.....	2,295	590	163||	3,115	2,103	1,025	951**	4,893
1932.....	2,345	481	163††	2,990	2,408	1,081	952††	4,462
1933.....	2,107	531	161§§	2,815	2,878	1,192	970|||	5,075

*Includes cancelled licences.

†Figures are not shown in the *Report* for the year 1926.

††Includes 6 returned soldiers not part of the quota for Japanese.

§Includes 43 returned soldiers.

||Includes 8 returned soldiers.

**Includes 41 returned soldiers.

††Includes 9 returned soldiers.

††Includes 46 returned soldiers.

§§Includes 7 returned soldiers.

|||Includes 63 returned soldiers.

SOURCE: Dominion Department of Marine and Fisheries, *Annual Reports*.

TABLE IV
JAPANESE WAGE-EARNERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA INDUSTRY DURING WEEK OF GREATEST EMPLOYMENT

YEAR	Breweries		Producers of builders' materials	Coal mining		Coast shipping	Contracting		Explosives, chemicals
	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
1920.....				124		53	10		8
1921.....			1	82		62	20		8
1922.....			1	81		61	34	2	7
1923.....			1	102		61	12		6
1924.....			2	66		58	30		99
1925.....			1	61		71	53		76
1926.....			4	63		79	8		51
1927.....			3	1		77	9		5
1928.....			15	62		75	1		5
1929.....		1		46		73	6		6
1930.....			3	61		67			
1931.....			12	71		58	1		
1932.....			1	62		65			
1933.....				9		60	3		5
1934.....			1	29		61	1		65

(continued on next page)

TABLE IV (continued)

YEAR	Food products manufacture		Garment making		House- furnishings, manufacture		Laundries, cleaning and dyeing		Leather and fur goods manufacture		Lumber industries	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male		Male	Female	Male		Male	Female
1920.....	63	75					1		1		1,681	2
1921.....	487	59	1	1			1		2		1,843	3
1922.....	552	59	3	5			6		3		2,171	4
1923.....	841	99	11				7	3	2		2,476	4
1924.....	490	63	10	7			14	5	3		2,290	1
1925.....	72	111	9	7			10	5	3		2,437	3
1926.....	610	214	8	2			8	2	2		2,376	3
1927.....	599	217	13	4			15	2	1		2,097	
1928.....	700	275	9				3	2	3		2,085	4
1929.....	827	372	13	9			7				2,768	
1930.....	775	552	11	1			11	4	4		1,530	
1931.....	764	5	8	7	2		6	2	3		1,220	
1932.....	651	279					10	3	4		1,159	
1933.....	692	446					13		4		1,214	
1934.....	596	406	3					2			1,148	

(continued on next page)

TABLE IV (continued)

YEAR	Metal trades		Metal mining		Miscellaneous trades and industries		Oil-refining		Printing and publishing		Pulp and paper manufacture	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1920.....	35	9					45		11		790	9
1921.....	13	30			4				22	2	667	5
1922.....	21	24			2				20	1	719	6
1923.....	18	98		2					20		661	7
1924.....	19	63		2					30		467	6
1925.....	6	73		2					33	2	554	1
1926.....	15	17		1		1			34	2	507	6
1927.....	29	93				9			52	2	501	4
1928.....	1	115				2			32	1	497	5
1929.....	39	135				9			39		598	
1930.....	29	93		1		6		2	44		492	1
1931.....	14	58		1		10			25		443	1
1932.....	12	49							32		426	4
1933.....	16	15				5			24	1	382	4
1934.....	13	13				11			21		462	9

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TABLE IV (concluded)

YEAR	Ship building		Smelting		Street railways, water, gas, and power		Manufacture of wood, n.e.s.		SUMMARY	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1920.....	3		3				79		2,915	86
1921.....	10						35		3,288	70
1922.....	16	1	2				40		3,758	74
1923.....	2	1	3				95	1	4,417	119
1924.....	6				4		75	1	3,724	76
1925.....							83		3,560	131
1926.....	48				4	2	56	1	3,912	237
1927.....	92						29		3,621	238
1928.....	63				3		60		3,756	285
1929.....	92				4		48		4,764	394
1930.....	50				5		57	4	3,322	571
1931.....	34						22	4	2,759	30
1932.....	16						49	5	2,597	291
1933.....	51	23	23				30	9	2,594	488
1934.....	44		20				38	11	2,546	442

SOURCE: British Columbia Department of Labour, *Annual Report*.

TABLE V
CHINESE WAGE-EARNERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA INDUSTRY DURING
WEEK OF GREATEST EMPLOYMENT

YEAR	Breweries and distilleries	Producers of builders' materials	Coal mining	Coast shipping	Contracting		Explosives, chemicals
	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male
1920.....		92	888	237	125		74
1921.....		148	813	128	102		57
1922.....	1	192	765	250	20		
1923.....		295	571	268	42		53
1924.....		324	574	336	39	1	117
1925.....		260	522	413	93		116
1926.....		265	457	422	22		98
1927.....		291	409	360	9		25
1928.....	2	295	428	364	13		21
1929.....	11	295	420	424	23		29
1930.....	24	239	384	367	1		18
1931.....	5	149	202	295	19		14
1932.....	2	111	218	272			11
1933.....	2	29	110	246	7		9
1934.....	2	69	125	258			79

(continued on next page)

TABLE V (continued)

YEAR	Food products manufacture		Garment making		House-furnishings manufacture	Jewellery manufacture		Laundries, cleaning and dyeing		Leather and fur goods manufacture		Lumber industries	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Male	Male	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male
1920.....	401		16		1			24		1		3,560	
1921.....	580		21		3	1		30		1		3,376	
1922.....	635		11		4	1		47				4,163	
1923.....	898	9	21		4	1		63				4,575	
1924.....	816	18	28		5	1		39		1		3,778	
1925.....	1,272	7	28		1			41		1		3,865	
1926.....	2,068	16	17	7				43	1	1		4,203	
1927.....	1,617	3	21					46	3	4		3,277	
1928.....	1,357	10	15					37	7			3,078	
1929.....	1,462		13					40		1		3,103	
1930.....	1,872	57	9	3				25				2,067	
1931.....	931	9	11	10				23	2			1,084	
1932.....	1,310	4	7	14				15	1			1,093	
1933.....	266	10	13	14	1			12	2			1,395	
1934.....	1,565	1	6	10				16				1,293	

(continued on next page)

TABLE V (continued)

YEAR	Metal trades	Metal mining	Miscellaneous trades and industries	Oil-refining	Printing and publishing	Pulp and paper manufacture
	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female
1920.....	38	60	1	110	20	29
1921.....	3	42	4		8	119
1922.....	85	30	3		1	123
1923.....	5	51	4		1	145
1924.....	4	47	3		13	70
1925.....	1	54	52	1	1	83
1926.....	2	67	9		21	103
1927.....	3	92	4		19	95
1928.....	3	88	16			76
1929.....	10	96	97	1	1	64
1930.....	2	98	28	55	20	61
1931.....	1	41	31		3	55
1932.....	17	37	25	2	16	46
1933.....	1	53	53	41	12	34
1934.....	8	43	13	3	14	57

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TABLE V (concluded)

YEAR	Smelting		Street railways, water, gas, and power		Manufacture of wood, n.e.s.		SUMMARY	
	Male		Male		Male		Male	Female
1920.....	62		6		172		5,917	9
1921.....	44		64		146		5,690	20
1922.....	47		17		89		6,484	7
1923.....	50		21		164		7,232	24
1924.....	50		14		112		6,371	6
1925.....	46		24		99		6,974	17
1926.....	46		13		72		7,932	
1927.....	50		27		35		6,380	
1928.....	46		19		43		5,901	
1929.....	1		22		39		6,152	57
1930.....	21		25		31		5,347	14
1931.....	50		36		38		2,988	15
1932.....	47		18		23		3,270	26
1933.....	52		6		15		2,357	11
1934.....	56		8		18		3,633	

SOURCE: British Columbia Department of Labour, *Annual Report*.

TABLE VI
MALE ORIENTAL WAGE-EARNERS IN INDUSTRIES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
1920-34

YEAR	LUMBER INDUSTRIES		MANUFACTURE OF PULP AND PAPER		MANUFACTURE OF FOOD PRODUCTS		COAL-MINING	
	Wage-earners	Weekly wage range	Wage-earners	Weekly wage range	Wage-earners	Weekly wage range	Wage-earners	Weekly wage range
1920....	5,916	\$ 10-26.99	819	\$ 18-28.99	480	\$ 7-21.99	1,012	\$ 17-29.99
1921....	5,914	6-18.99	815	13-22.99	1,092	6-21.99	895	12-26.99
1922....	7,347	7-18.99	871	12-22.99	1,214	8-20.99	846	11-23.99
1923....	8,085	6-20.99	806	11-23.99	1,758	7-20.99	732	10-24.99
1924....	6,968	7-19.99	537	10-23.99	1,367	6-19.99	640	12-20.99
1925....	7,030	6-18.99	638	14-22.99	1,352	6-20.99	583	10-20.99
1926....	7,304	8-19.99	610	15-21.99	2,686	6-21.99	520	12-21.99
1927....	6,204	12-19.99	596	14-21.99	2,216	10-21.99	410	11-20.99
1928....	5,888	10-19.99	573	15-21.99	2,068	9-20.99	490	12-20.99
1929....	5,936	11-19.99	662	14-21.99	2,289	10-20.99	466	13-20.99
1930....	4,268	10-19.99	553	14-21.99	2,655	8-21.99	445	12-18.99
1931....	2,738	6-14.99	498	10-19.99	1,707	7-16.99	308	10-16.99
1932....	2,661	6-12.99	472	12-19.99	1,964	6-15.99	280	9-16.99
1933....	3,096	6-12.99	416	11-17.99	958	6-12.99	119	7-14.99
1934....	2,965	6-16.99	519	6-17.99	2,161	6-15.99	154	6-16.99

SOURCE: British Columbia Department of Labour, *Annual Reports*.

TABLE VII

MALE ORIENTAL WAGE-EARNERS IN VARIOUS DIVISIONS OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
1920-34

YEAR	LOGGING		PLANING MILLS		SAWMILLS		SHINGLE MILLS	
	Wage-earners	Wage range	Wage-earners	Wage range	Wage-earners	Wage range	Wage-earners	Wage range
1920....	892	\$ 10-27.99	256	\$ 15-25.99	3,213	\$ 13-27.99	1,446	\$ 15-33.99
1921....	689	9-18.99	123	8-16.99	2,692	9-17.99	1,349	12-24.99
1922....	1,045	9-18.99	289	10-16.99	3,580	8-18.99	1,500	7-24.99
1923....	1,420	6-19.99	299	12-18.99	4,105	8-19.99	1,826	10-28.99
1924....	1,035	7-18.99	302	10-19.99	3,788	8-19.99	1,057	10-25.99
1925....	1,256	9-18.99	328	10-16.99	4,155	6-17.99	1,167	8-24.99
1926....	1,211	10-19.99	266	12-19.99	4,132	10-19.99	1,290	9-25.99
1927....	842	12-19.99	274	13-19.99	3,963	12-19.99	912	18-24.99
1928....	990	10-19.99	194	12-19.99	3,658	12-19.99	876	11-23.99
1929....	1,006	14-19.99	184	16-19.99	3,655	11-19.99	897	13-23.99
1930....	561	10-18.99	165	11-17.99	2,862	10-19.99	610	11-21.99
1931....	343	7-14.99	72	8-15.99	1,812	6-14.99	351	7-15.99
1932....	370	6-12.99	57	7-12.99	1,740	6-12.99	465	6-14.99
1933....	479	7-12.99	36	6-12.99	1,979	6-10.99	462	6-14.99
1934....	623	6-16.99	58	12-16.99	1,627	7-14.99	474	6-19.99

SOURCE: Information supplied by the British Columbia Department of Labour.

TABLE VIII
MALE ORIENTAL WAGE-EARNERS IN INDUSTRIES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
1920-34

YEAR	LUMBER INDUSTRIES			MANUFACTURE OF PULP AND PAPER			MANUFACTURE OF FOOD PRODUCTS			COAL MINING		
	Wage-earners*	Per cent of total	Modal group	Wage-earners*	Per cent of total	Modal group	Wage-earners*	Per cent of total	Modal group	Wage-earners*	Per cent of total	Modal group
1920..	3,788	64.03	\$ 22-25.99	534	65.20	\$ 25-27.99	272	56.67	\$ 18-20.99	{263 435	25.99 42-98	\$ 18-20.99 25-28.99
1921..	3,894	65.84	15-18.99	{181 354	22.21 43.43	15-15.99 21-21.99	702	64.28	17-20.99	356	39.78	17-21.99
1922..	5,338	72.65	15-18.99	{230 349	26.40 40.07	16-16.99 21-21.99	834	68.70	16-19.99	{217 277	25.65 32.74	12-13.99 17-19.99
1923..	5,976	73.91	16-19.99	{201 395	24.94 49.01	18-18.99 21-23.99	1,605	91.29	15-20.99	416	56.53	12-17.99
1924..	4,909	70.45	16-18.99	{165 205	30.72 38.17	17-17.99 20-22.99	1,112	81.34	15-19.99	{191 215	29.84 33.59	12-12.99 18-19.99
1925..	3,794	53.97	14-16.99	410	64.26	19-21.99	1,133	83.80	15-20.99	314	53.86	15-18.99
1926..	5,697	78.00	16-19.99	404	62.23	17-17.99	2,045	76.13	18-21.99	{97 254	18.65 48.84	14-14.99 18-20.99
1927..	5,739	92.50	19-19.99	586	98.32	19-21.99	1,537	69.35	17-19.99	{118 179	28.78 43.66	14-15.99 18-19.99
1928..	4,100	69.63	19-19.99	381	66.49	19-19.99	1,415	68.42	18-20.99	{182 212	37.14 43.26	14-16.99 18-20.99
1929..	4,814	81.08	19-19.99	601	90.78	19-21.99	2,050	89.56	16-20.99	206	44.21	14-15.99
1930..	2,750	64.43	17-19.99	525	94.94	17-21.99	2,032	76.53	17-20.99	198	44.46	14-15.99
1931..	1,944	71.00	12-14.99	429	86.14	14-17.99	1,190	69.71	13-16.99	152	49.35	14-15.99
1932..	1,672	62.83	10-12.99	350	74.15	15-17.99	1,486	75.66	12-15.99	163	58.21	14-15.99
1933..	2,290	73.96	8-11.99	248	46.39	13-15.99	687	71.71	9-12.99	63	52.94	12-14.99
1934..	2,091	70.52	12-14.99	308	59.33	12-13.99	1,396	64.59	12-14.99	65	42.21	15-16.99

*Number in modal group.

TABLE IX
MALE ORIENTAL WAGE-EARNERS IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1920-34

YEAR	LOGGING			PLANING MILLS			SAWMILLS			SHINGLE MILLS		
	Wage-earners*	Per cent of total	Modal group	Wage-earners*	Per cent of total	Modal group	Wage-earners*	Per cent of total	Modal group	Wage-earners*	Per cent of total	Modal group
1920..	697	78.13	\$ 24-27.99	196	76.56	\$ 17-22.99	{1,092 1,824 1,169 1,382	33.98 56.77 43.42 51.34	17-21.99 22-25.99 11-14.99 15-17.99	313	21.65 58.44 59.08 24.76	\$ 24-26.99 27-33.99 18-21.99 22-24.99
1921..	638	92.59	15-18.99	96	78.04	12-16.99	{1,270 2,236	35.47 62.46	11-14.99 15-18.99	978	65.20	18-22.99
1922..	896	85.74	14-17.99	{112 140	38.75 48.44	11-12.99 14-16.99	3,345	81.48	14-18.99	{743 669	40.69 36.64	18-21.99 24-27.99
1923..	1,159	81.61	16-19.99	270	90.30	13-17.99	2,913	76.90	14-18.99	{128 604	12.11 57.14	15-17.99 18-23.99
1924..	864	83.47	15-18.99	216	71.52	14-18.99	3,901	93.88	12-16.99	{502 489	43.01 41.90	18-20.99 21-24.99
1925..	1,156	92.03	15-18.99	267	81.40	13-16.99	{1,334 2,075	32.28 50.22	13-17.99 18-19.99	1,000	77.52	19-24.99
1926..	1,036	85.54	16-19.99	199	74.81	15-19.99	3,884	98.01	19-19.99	712	78.07	19-22.99
1927..	815	96.79	17-19.99	241	87.95	19-19.99	3,448	94.26	19-19.99	746	85.16	18-22.99
1928..	898	90.70	17-19.99	165	85.05	19-19.99	3,305	90.42	19-19.99	727	81.05	19-22.99
1929..	893	88.76	17-19.99	170	92.39	19-19.99	{1,625 1,156	56.78 40.39	14-18.99 19-19.99	484	79.34	18-21.99
1930..	454	80.93	14-17.99	158	95.75	14-17.99	1,531	84.49	19-19.99	315	89.74	12-15.99
1931..	274	79.88	12-14.99	42	58.33	12-14.99	{368 1,327	21.15 76.26	11-14.99 6-8.99 9-12.99	319	68.60	12-14.99
1932..	279	75.40	9-12.99	42	73.68	9-11.99	1,839	92.92	7-10.99	{146 260	31.60 56.28	6-9.99 12-14.99
1933..	415	86.64	10-12.99	20	55.55	9-11.99	1,479	90.90	12-14.99	{186 196	39.24 41.35	14-17.99 19-19.99
1934..	524	84.11	12-15.99	42	72.41	12-14.99						

*Number in modal group.

TABLE X
CHINESE IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS FOR CANADA AT OCEAN PORTS
1906-24

YEAR*	ARRIVALS			NUMBER WITH DESTINATIONS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA	TRADE OR OCCUPATION		
					Farmers and farm labourers†	General labourers	
	Male	Female	Childrent		Male	Male	Children
1906.....	3	7	8	16	3	7	7
1907.....	63	9	20	68	32	453	8
1908.....	1,719	39	126	1,554	24	559	20
1909.....	1,695	36	156	1,539	55	359	3
1910.....	1,866	58	232	1,948	116	1,075	12
1911.....	4,859	77	342	4,794	49	1,338	37
1912.....	5,776	80	391	5,480	21	1,399	29
1913.....	7,029	85	331	6,691	17	1,439	5
1914.....	5,230	89	193	4,679		788	
1915.....	1,147	40	71	863		4	
1916.....	42	18	28	52		152	
1917.....	297	33	63	128		195	
1918.....	695	26	48	254	1	260	1
1919.....	4,095	63	175	1,133	56	3	
1920.....	389	67	88	347	30	1	
1921.....	2,001	135	209	2,065	2	10	
1922.....	1,125	114	507	995	1	8	
1923.....	232	59	420	326	1	13	
1924.....	59	36	579	341			

(concluded on next page)

TABLE X (concluded)

Trade or Occupation||

YEAR*	Mechanics§		Clerks, traders, etc.			Not classified		
	Male		Male	Female	Children	Male	Female	Children
1906.....			3	7	8	11	4	8
1907.....			42	5	12	87	19	81
1908.....	41		1,105	16	37	90	29	111
1909.....	46		975	7	33	116	19	92
1910.....	22		1,314	31	119	288	39	239
1911.....	146		3,233	33	96	188	35	243
1912.....	8		4,193	37	136	75	34	194
1913.....	2		5,532	34	99	132	34	128
1914.....	5		3,637	21	36	49	8	32
1915.....	1		309	27	34	10	2	1
1916.....			28	16	27	46	17	34
1917.....			99	16	29	386	19	44
1918.....			113	7	3	3,436	62	172
1919.....			343	1	3	221	27	56
1920.....			135	39	32	553	78	223
1921.....			1,445	57	76	905	66	442
1922.....			208	48	65	193	39	390
1923.....			31	20	30	27	24	558
1924.....			18	12	21			

*1906, fiscal year ending June 30; 1907, nine months ending March 31; 1908-24, fiscal year ending March 31.

†Children under 18 years.

‡One female in 1913 and 1920 and five in 1914; one child in each of 1909, 1911, 1913.

§One female in 1908, three in 1911, one child in 1908, three in each of 1909 and 1911.

||One male (miner) arrived in 1908, 1909, 1911, and 1922, one female and one child in 1910; a female servant arrived in 1908 and 1911, and two in 1912.

SOURCE: 1906-17, Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports*; 1918-24, Department of Immigration and Colonization, *Annual Reports*.

TABLE XI
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF ORIENTAL IMMIGRANTS, 1906-24,
AND TOTAL GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, 1931

OCCUPATION	CHINESE				JAPANESE			
	Total immigration, 1906-24		Population gainfully employed, 1931		Total immigration, 1905-31		Population gainfully employed, 1931	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farmers & farm labourers	418	0.9	4,193	18.2	4,770	20.3	1,513	19.3
General labourers.....	8,251	19.0	9,540	41.5	8,089	33.4	2,233	28.4
Mechanics.....	282	0.6	91	0.4	531	2.3	159	2.0
Clerks, traders, <i>etc.</i>	24,093	55.4	6,983	30.4	2,650	11.3	1,117	14.2
Miners.....	6	0.001	391	1.7	119	0.5	101	1.3
Female servants.....	4	0.001	15	0.06	196	0.8	182	2.3
Not classified.....	10,416	24.0	1,786	7.8	7,167	30.4	2,547	32.5
TOTALS.....	43,470	100.00	22,999	100.00	23,522	100.0	7,852	100.0

TABLE XII
ORIENTALS IN THE GREENHOUSE INDUSTRY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
1923-35

Number of Growers

YEAR	ORIENTAL GROWERS		WHITE GROWERS				TOTAL GROWERS		
	Mainland	Vancouver Island	Mainland	Vancouver Island	Kootenay	Okanagan	Oriental	White	All growers
1923.....	2	9	45	51	5	8	11	109	120
1925.....	6	15	56	65	8	12	21	141	162
1927.....	8	18	70	88	9	21	26	188	214
1929.....	14	22	80	110	11	23	36	224	260
1931.....	32	34	81	128	12	16	66	237	303
1933.....	39	36	91	143	12	20	75	266	341
1935.....	128	45	146	155	12	29	173	342	515
PER CENT OF GROWERS IN SAME DISTRICT							PER CENT OF ALL GROWERS		
1923.....	4.3	15.0	95.7	85.0			9.2	90.8	
1925.....	9.7	18.8	90.3	81.2			13.0	87.0	
1927.....	10.3	17.0	89.7	83.0			12.2	87.8	
1929.....	14.9	16.7	85.1	83.3			13.9	86.1	
1931.....	28.4	21.0	71.6	79.0			21.8	78.2	
1933.....	30.0	20.1	70.0	79.9			22.0	78.0	
1935.....	46.7	22.5	53.3	77.5			33.6	66.4	

SOURCE: British Columbia Department of Agriculture, Horticulture Branch.

TABLE XIII
ORIENTALS IN THE GREENHOUSE INDUSTRY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
1923-35

Area in Square Feet

YEAR	ORIENTAL GROWERS		WHITE GROWERS				TOTAL GROWERS		
	Mainland	Vancouver Island	Mainland	Vancouver Island	Kootenay	Okanagan	Oriental	White	All growers
1923..	163,670	382,382	690,480	570,930	29,948	67,770	546,052	1,359,128	1,905,180
1925..	208,794	654,664	782,154	567,357	33,737	80,650	863,458	1,463,898	2,327,356
1927..	254,590	844,095	843,720	663,653	42,427	116,277	1,098,685	1,666,077	2,764,762
1929..	382,117	1,018,024	1,081,868	746,324	40,171	117,177	1,400,141	1,985,540	3,385,681
1931..	666,639	1,222,883	1,042,634	856,685	38,216	121,345	1,889,522	2,058,880	3,948,402
1933..	705,124	1,271,291	1,079,359	918,762	42,523	135,605	1,976,415	2,176,249	4,152,664
1935..	819,025	1,545,234	1,170,208	868,299	41,696	168,325	2,364,259	2,248,528	4,612,787
PER CENT OF AREA IN SAME DISTRICT							PER CENT OF TOTAL AREA		
1923..	19.2	40.1	80.8	59.9			28.7	71.3	
1925..	21.1	53.6	78.9	46.4			37.1	62.9	
1927..	23.2	56.0	76.8	44.0			39.8	60.2	
1929..	26.1	57.7	73.9	42.3			41.4	58.6	
1931..	39.0	58.8	61.0	41.2			47.9	52.1	
1933..	39.6	58.1	60.4	41.9			47.6	52.4	
1935..	41.2	64.1	58.8	35.9			51.1	48.9	

SOURCE: British Columbia Department of Agriculture, Horticulture Branch.

TABLE XIV
ORIENTALS IN THE SMALL FRUITS (BERRY) INDUSTRY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
1920-34

Number of Growers and Acreage

YEAR	WHITE GROWERS			ORIENTAL GROWERS		
	Number of growers	Per cent of all growers	Acres	Per cent of all growers	Acres	Per cent of all acreage
1920.....	969	80.5	2,359 $\frac{3}{4}$	19.5	970 $\frac{3}{4}$	29.14
1922.....	2,051	85.9	4,641 $\frac{1}{2}$	14.1	1,560 $\frac{1}{2}$	25.2
1924.....	2,162	85.5	4,844 $\frac{1}{2}$	14.5	1,465 $\frac{1}{4}$	23.2
1926.....	2,041	85.5	3,791	14.5	1,410	27.1
1928.....	2,029	77.7	3,800 $\frac{1}{4}$	22.3	1,955 $\frac{3}{4}$	34.0
1930.....	1,581	78.2	3,055 $\frac{1}{4}$	21.8	1,757 $\frac{1}{4}$	36.6
1932.....	1,665	78.2	3,086 $\frac{3}{8}$	21.8	1,902 $\frac{1}{8}$	37.7
1934.....	2,029	78.0	3,365 $\frac{1}{8}$	22.0	2,794 $\frac{5}{8}$	45.4

SOURCE: British Columbia Department of Agriculture, Horticulture Branch.

TABLE XV

ORIENTALS IN THE SMALL FRUITS (BERRY) INDUSTRY IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA
1934

Fraser Valley Berry Acreage

KIND OF BERRY	WHITE GROWERS		ORIENTAL GROWERS		TOTAL ACREAGE ALL FRUITS
	Acres	Per cent of total berry acreage	Acres	Per cent of total berry acreage	
Strawberries...	392 $\frac{1}{8}$	8.85	1,711 $\frac{1}{8}$	38.63	
Raspberries...	556	12.55	481 $\frac{3}{8}$	10.87	
Blackberries...	47	1.06	87 $\frac{1}{8}$	1.97	
Loganberries...	221 $\frac{1}{8}$	4.99	112	2.53	
Red currants...	22 $\frac{7}{8}$	0.52	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0.14	
Black currants.	120	2.71	46 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.04	
Gooseberries...	47 $\frac{3}{8}$	1.07	45 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.02	
Rhubarb.....	235 $\frac{7}{8}$	5.33	297 $\frac{7}{8}$	6.72	
TOTAL.....	1,642 $\frac{3}{8}$	37.08	2,787 $\frac{1}{4}$	62.92	4,429 $\frac{5}{8}$

SOURCE: British Columbia, Department of Agriculture, Horticulture Branch.

TABLE XVI
 ASSESSED VALUE AND AREA OF LAND OWNED BY ORIENTALS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
Rural Divisions—Districts, 1935

DISTRICT	CHINESE		JAPANESE		HINDUS		TOTAL ORIENTALS	
	Acres	Dollars	Acres	Dollars	Acres	Dollars	Acres	Dollars
Burnaby.....				5,280		12,500	50	111,405
Chilliwack.....		7,800		13,465				25,580
Coquitlam.....				75,297				13,465
Delta.....	170.5	14,093	428.42		46.46	6,463		95,853
Esquimalt.....						1,500		1,500
Glenmore.....			11.6	1,425			11.6	1,425
Kent*.....								
Langley.....				23,010		6,650		29,660
Maple Ridge.....	4		2,496				2,500	370,505
Mission†.....			1,084	127,027			1,084	127,027
North Vancouver...								39,187
Oak Bay.....		1,230						1,230
Penticton.....		14,850	25	3,545				18,395
Pitt Meadows.....			385.24	54,910	128.64	14,460		69,370
Salmon Arm.....			65.56	6,100				6,100
Spallumcheen.....	188.81	9,655						9,655
Sumas.....				1,180		10,977		12,157
Summerland.....				16,970				16,970
Surrey.....		1,950		100,580		7,850		110,380
West Vancouver....		1,270		7,620				8,890
Total assessed value of land held in districts by Orientals.....								1,068,754
Total assessed value of land held in districts by others.....								59,644,274
TOTAL.....								60,713,028

*No returns.

†Includes 98 per cent of registered owners.
(concluded on next page)

TABLE XVI (*concluded*)
Rural Divisions—Villages, 1935

VILLAGE	CHINESE	JAPANESE	TOTAL ORIENTAL
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
Abbotsford.....	1,300		1,300
Burns Lake.....	1,300		1,300
Creston.....	3,575		3,575
Hope.....	1,700		1,700
McBride.....	2,050		2,050
Mission*.....	6,670	37,172	43,842
New Denver.....	500		500
Pouce Coupe.....	1,950		1,950
Quesnel.....	22,600		22,600
Silverton.....	850		850
Smithers.....	7,120	13,260	20,380
Terrace.....	2,580		2,580
Tofino.....		3,800	3,800
Vanderhoof.....	3,800		3,800
Williams Lake.....	50,120		50,120
Total assessed value of land held in villages by Orientals.....			160,347
Total assessed value of land held in villages by others.....			1,440,963
TOTAL.....			1,601,310
Total assessed value of land held in districts by Orientals.....			1,068,754
Total assessed value of land held in villages by Orientals.....			160,347
TOTAL.....			1,229,101

*Includes assessed value of leased land.

CHAPTER IV

ORIENTAL STANDARDS OF LIVING¹

A STATEMENT of the income for 1930 as reported in questionnaires from 105 Chinese is as follows:

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE
Classified on the basis of 1930 income

Class interval	Frequency
\$ 0- 249	1
250- 499	10
500- 749	41
750- 999	30
1,000-1,249	14
1,250-1,499	4
1,500-1,749	2
1,750-1,999	0
2,000-2,249	0
2,250-2,499	2
3,500-3,749	1
TOTAL	105

¹An attempt has been made to get a picture of a cross-section of both Chinese and Japanese by selecting representative individuals in various occupations. A questionnaire was prepared with the object of discovering the main facts of income and expenditure, mode of living, particularly with reference to modification of Orientals' habits and standards of living in favour of Western standards. Chinese and Japanese students were engaged to make use of the questionnaire in personal interviews. A total of 511 cases were studied, 105 of these being Chinese and 406 being Japanese. It was not intended that these cases should form a true statistical sample, but rather that they should provide information which could be used descriptively with regard to the conditions of living in different Oriental groups. The questionnaires were arranged on the basis of occupation, as the method of earning a living formed a starting point. The occupational classification was based on that used in the Dominion Census of 1931. In the questionnaire used in the Chinese investigation, questions were asked with regard to the income in their highest income year, in 1930 and in 1933. Information was also obtained with regard to the amount spent for food, shelter, and clothing.

The mode for the group was \$687.50 and the median \$762.50. A statement of "Effort Income" of all gainfully occupied persons gives an average wage for 1931 of \$896.44 for males and \$624.73 for females in British Columbia.² The survey indicates that the average earnings of the Chinese are lower than the average earnings of Whites in the Province.

In spite of low earnings most of the Chinese were able to save a certain amount even in 1933.

SAVINGS OF THE CHINESE AND MONEY SENT TO CHINA

	Savings*		Sent to China* during the last	
	Best year	1933	10 years	2 years
10 store owners.....	9 av. 680	7 av. 257	†	†
7 truck drivers.....	7 av. 386	6 av. 183‡	1 sent 300	1 sent 700
5 café owners.....	5 av. 580	3 av. 166	3 av. 600	3 av. 83
10 cooks.....	10 av. 520	7 av. 200	4 av. 675§	5 av. 300

*Quoted in Canadian dollars.

†No figures can be used here as those on the questionnaires include money sent to China for merchandise as well as for the support of families.

‡Of which one saved \$500.

§Excluding one individual who sent \$3,500 to China.

These figures are handicapped by the limitations of memory and diffidence about giving information with regard to money sent out of the country. A certain degree of political nervousness on the part of the Oriental population would lead to caution, even when the questionnaires were being handled by one of their own race.

The calculation of the mode and the median gave a representative income range of \$75.00. The number

²Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The National Income of Canada*, 1934.

of cases within this narrow range was 14,³ or 13.3 per cent of the total number of 105.

ANALYSIS OF 14 QUESTIONNAIRES BASED ON 1930 INCOME—BEING A
STATISTICAL CROSS-SECTION OF 105 QUESTIONNAIRES SUBMITTED
TO CHINESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA DURING 1934

*Fourteen questionnaires lying between the Median and the Mode, i.e., those
having a 1930 income spread from \$687 to \$762*

1. Age	The average of 14 cases is just 35 years, 6 are in their 20's, 4 in their 30's. The remaining 4 are evenly divided between the 40's and 50's.		
2. Income: Best year	14	averaged	\$785.00
3. " 1930	14	"	708.57
4. " 1933	14	"	587.00
5. Expenditures: Food	12	"	159.00
6. " Shelter	9	"	101.00
7. " Clothing	14	"	162.00
8. Savings: Best year	13	"	342.00
9. Savings: 1933	12	"	141.00
10. Sent to China in last 10 years	8	"	875.00
11. Sent to China in last 2 years	5	"	150.00
12. Size of family	Single individuals predominated with 6 cases. The remainder were divided as follows: 3 had 4 individuals in family; 2 had 5 individuals in family; 2 had 3 individuals in family; 1 had 2 individuals in family.		
13. Adults	There were still 6 cases of single adults, which was overshadowed, however, by 7 couples. The remaining case had a household of 3 adults.		
14. Children	All individuals over 16 were classed as adults. Seven families contained no children. Of these we have seen six were single. No record was kept as to whether the seventh family was childless or		

³These cases belonged to the following occupations:

Group I	{ 3 farmers 2 farm hands 1 truck driver 1 garage owner	Group XXIV	journalist
Group XIX		Group XXV	janitor
Group XXI		Group XXVII	clerk
Group XXIII		Group XXIX	unskilled
	foreign gov't official		

whether it had children which were now grown up. The following distribution accounts for the other seven: 2 families had one child each; 3 families had two children each; 2 families had three children each.

15. Occidental food. . . . Twenty per cent Western food was the average used by the Chinese in this income group.
16. Religion Out of the 11 who answered this question 7 were Confucians and 4 were Christians.

The standard of living is definitely affected by occupation and by family relationships. Chinese assisting families in China are compelled to live at a low standard. Hoping to return to their own country, there is no incentive for them to adopt Western customs and Western standards. Conditions of Chinese living in the rural communities and working on the land are very similar to those prevailing in China. The farmers and farm hands erect small shacks for living quarters; these are used also as working quarters and, in some cases, to provide shelter for animals.

In the case of Chinese with families in British Columbia, the standard of living is higher than that of the Chinese with families in China. There is a tendency to look upon the home as a more permanent institution, and consequently, there is a desire to increase its comfort. In many cases these homes are provided with telephones and use is made of modern household conveniences.

In the cities, the Chinese tend to congregate in one quarter known as "Chinatown". Single men get together in groups, usually on the basis of having originally come from the same village in China, and rent a house or live in inferior quarters for which they pay a very small monthly rental. Conditions of life in these houses are by no means pleasant. The Chinese in business usually have their families live in

quarters at the rear of the store, partitioned off from the business quarters. A few of the wealthier families have their homes in better class residential districts.

It is usually claimed that the Chinese, because of their lower standard of living, compete unfairly with the Whites. Very early in their settlement they captured the market gardening industry in the Province, and at the present time about 75 per cent of the industry on Vancouver Island and 80 per cent of that on the mainland is in their hands. A study of fourteen Chinese farmers shows that the main product is assorted vegetables. The homes of these farmers, as described by themselves, appear to be very poor, mainly dilapidated shacks with no modern conveniences. The answers to the questionnaires would indicate, however, that this low standard of living is due mainly to the fact that they save a great deal of their income, a considerable proportion of which is sent to China to help their families.

An independent study was made of the standards of living of the Chinese in the Victoria area in which there are about 2,500 Chinese.

The merchant class constitute the highest and most stable income group. Those operating general, drygoods, and grocery stores dealing mainly with the Chinese population, were reported to have secured an average income in their best year of from \$3,200 to \$5,000, in 1930 of from \$2,400 to \$3,600, and in 1933, a depression year, from \$1,200 to \$3,000. The amount spent for food per family was about \$1,700: for shelter, \$600; and for clothing, from \$400 to \$700. In the period of depression savings were drawn upon. The homes of this class are equipped with modern conveniences, and modern appliances. The savings in the best year were about \$1,000. In the case of fruit dealers and confectionery shops, the income was

about \$1,500 in the best year, about \$900 in 1930, and \$720 in 1933. Proportionately smaller amounts were spent on food, clothing, and shelter, but the homes of this class are equipped with modern conveniences.

OCCUPATIONS OF CHINESE IN VICTORIA AREA*

Class	Occupation	Number of persons in a class	Total	Percentage
A	General merchants, dry goods, groceries.....	100	135	5
	Fruit dealers, jewellers.....	35		
B	Saw mill workers.....	100	425	17
	Cordwood cutters.....	75		
	Loggers.....	50		
	Common labour.....	200		
C	Cannery workers.....	300	300	12
D	Growers and farmers.....	300	300	12
E	Cooks and assistants.....	400	400	16
F	Laundry workers.....	100	150	6
	Pedlars.....	50		
	Women, not classified.....	150	800	32
	Children, not classified.....	500		
	Unemployed, not classified..	150		
	TOTAL.....		2,510	100

*These figures are based on a careful survey of employment agencies, labour contractors' district organizations, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Labour Unions, and representative Chinese. There is mobility of labour as between one occupation and another, so that these figures would vary to some extent even from week to week.

Classes B to F are in the main unskilled workers, most of whom are over middle age and who have their families in China. From their meagre earnings they have to remit whatever they can spare after deducting their own necessary living expenses. During the

depression, as many were unemployed, they were unable to remit any funds to their families, and in many cases the remittances were insufficient to maintain their families adequately. These men did not return to their own country as they had adapted themselves to work here. As the majority of them had passed middle age, they felt unable to establish themselves elsewhere. In other cases they had paid the poll tax of \$500 each on their entry into Canada, and in order to raise this, found it necessary to sell their property in China or raise a loan at a high rate of interest, making it impossible for them to return.

It was reported that the income of loggers, saw mill workers, and cordwood cutters in their best year was \$500; in 1930, \$400; and in 1933, \$360. The amount spent in food was about \$180, in shelter, \$48, and in clothing, \$50. Workers in this class in the last ten years would have remitted to China from \$900 to \$1,000. The income of home gardeners and common labourers and the amounts remitted to China were approximately the same.

Cannery workers spend from three to four months in the year in the canneries on the coast of the Mainland and the West Coast of Vancouver Island. In the years 1927 to 1930, their income averaged about \$300 a year. When the canneries closed down, they returned to the city and lived in rooming houses, endeavouring to obtain whatever work was available. During the years 1931, 1932, and 1933, their earnings averaged from \$150 to \$200 each year in the canneries. A certain amount of work was secured in the sawmills during the remainder of the year, but at comparatively small wages. The income of the laundry workers and pedlars is similar to that of the unskilled labour group.

Small fruit growers, farmers, and greenhouse workers were receiving an income not much above

the wage-earning group. The amount spent in food, clothing, and shelter was also meagre. Greenhouse operators numbering about 35 in Victoria and district, received an income of about \$1,500 a year in profits and their standard of living would be similar to that of the merchant group. The small class of about a dozen Chinese labour contractors in Victoria and Vancouver received an income comparable to the merchant class. These contractors make arrangements with industrial operators to supply a certain number of Chinese labourers on a definitely agreed basis. The wages are usually paid to the workers by the contractors, who make a profit on the undertaking of from \$3,000 to \$8,000 a year.

The class of cooks and assistants receive a much higher income than common labourers, as they are in the class of skilled workers. In some cases Chinese in this class earned as much as \$3,200 a year, although the income during the depression had been greatly reduced, being reported in 1933 as low as \$900. Proportionately higher amounts would be spent for food, shelter, and clothing.

A study of the income as reported in the Japanese questionnaires would indicate that the average income of the Japanese is higher than that of the Chinese but great care must be taken in using these figures and it is probable that the Japanese income is not as high above the Chinese income as the figures indicate.

The frequency distribution of income in 1933 for a group of Japanese replying to 379 questionnaires gives the mode as \$862 and the median \$1,127, in contrast with the mode of \$687.50 and the median \$762.50 for Chinese. All the questionnaires having a 1933 income which fell within the \$265 range which separated the median from the mode were singled out, irrespective of occupation.

Group I.....	{ 16 farmers 1 gardener
Group II.....	7 fishermen
Group III.....	{ 8 lumbermen 1 owner
Group IV.....	1 coal miner
Group X.....	{ 1 machinist 1 other worker
Group XIX.....	1 garage owner
Group XXI.....	3 retail store owners
Group XXV.....	{ 1 cook 1 barber
Group XXVII.....	{ 1 bookkeeper 2 clerks
Group XXIX.....	11 saw mill hands

These questionnaires were carefully analysed, and the replies averaged in accordance with the number who answered each question. (See p. 282.)

The income of the Japanese as compared with the Chinese is affected by the difference in age and sex distribution. According to the 1931 Census, there were in the Province 13,035 male Japanese and 9,170 females, and 24,900 male Chinese and only 2,239 females. In 1934-5, there were attending schools in the Province, 1,466 Chinese and 5,405 Japanese. The proportion of Japanese having their families in British Columbia is much higher than in the case of the Chinese. The larger number of children attending the schools would have the effect in the homes of introducing Western customs. It is likely that a larger proportion of the total income of the Japanese people would be spent in the Province and a smaller amount remitted to families or relatives in Japan.

THE JAPANESE CANADIANS

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE

Classified on the basis of 1933 income

Class interval	Frequency
\$ 0 - 499	27
500 - 999	145
1,000 - 1,499	71
1,500 - 1,999	39
2,000 - 2,499	27
2,500 - 2,999	13
3,000 - 3,499	14
3,500 - 3,999	7
4,000 - 4,499	8
4,500 - 4,999	4
5,000 - 5,499	5
5,500 - 5,999	0
6,000 - 6,499	7
6,500 - 6,999	0
7,000 - 7,499	2
7,500 - 7,999	1
8,000 - 8,499	2
8,500 - 8,999	2
9,000 - 9,499	1
9,500 - 9,999	1
25,000 - 25,499	1
32,000 - 32,499	1
36,000 - 36,499	1
TOTAL.....	379

ANALYSIS OF 56 QUESTIONNAIRES BASED ON 1933 INCOME—BEING A
STATISTICAL CROSS-SECTION OF 406 QUESTIONNAIRES SUBMITTED TO
JAPANESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA DURING 1934

*Fifty-six questionnaires lying between the Median and the Mode, i.e., those
having a 1933 income spread from \$862 to \$1,127*

1. Age The group is very evenly divided among those in the 30's, 40's, and 50's, being 15, 17, and 16 respectively. Of the remaining 8, four are in their 20's, and 4 in their 60's.
2. Income: Best year . . . Out of the 56, only 30 gave a specific figure for their best year. These averaged \$1,858.

3. Income: 1933	56 averaged \$978.57
4. Expenditures: Food	55 " 401.00
5. " Shelter	52 " 62.00
6. " Fuel	36 " 42.00
7. " Light	38 " 22.00
8. " Clothing	54 " 162.00
9. " Education	35 " 42.00
10. " Papers	34 " 20.00
11. " Insurance	11 " 77.00
12. " Amusements	12 " 49.00
13. " Telephone	17 " 24.00
	28 " 37.00
14. " Doctor {	29 " 45.00 (including 1 of \$250)

15. Number of rooms in house Out of the 43 who answered this question, 14 had 4-room houses. The remainder were divided as follows: 1 room—6; 2 rooms—1; 5 rooms—6; 6 rooms—5; 3 rooms—5; 7 rooms—3; 8 rooms—3.

16. Size of family Four in the family was most common with 10. There were 9 families of 6 individuals. The remainder were all fairly evenly distributed: 6 had 1 in the family; 5 had 2 in the family; 7 had 3 in the family; 6 had 5 in the family; 8 had 7 in the family; 4 had 8 in the family.

17. Adults Couples predominated with 33. 8 were single. The remainder either had grown-up children or else other relatives were living with them.

18. Children All individuals over 16 were classified as adults; 16 families contained no children, of these 7 were single. No record was kept as to whether the rest were childless or all their children were over 16; 14 families had 2 children, 7 had one child, and 7 had 3 children; 4, 5, and 6 children were in 5, 4, and 3 families respectively.

The following questions were only on one set of questionnaires. This explains the relatively few answers given. Consequently, they cannot be considered as representative as if all 56 had given answers:

19. Savings: Best year	14 averaged \$577.00
20. " 1933	12 " 271.00
21. Sent to Japan in last 10 years	9 " 711.00
22. " " " 2 years	5 " 212.00

The number of Orientals during the depression who have found it necessary to receive assistance

from the Government is shown in the following table. It has not been possible to secure a complete segregation of Chinese and Japanese, but from the information available it may be said that at no time have there been more than 300 Japanese receiving assistance and that a larger number of Chinese have received assistance. In the earlier stages of the depression, the Orientals did not apply for relief, as their indigents were taken care of to a large extent by their own people. As the depression continued, the burden became too onerous for the Oriental community, and Government aid was sought. The proportion of Orientals requiring Government assistance is less than that of the Whites partly because it is possible for the Oriental to subsist on less than the Whites.

STATEMENT SHOWING ORIENTALS RECEIVING RELIEF WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA FROM NOVEMBER, 1932, TO OCTOBER, 1935

Month	Years			
	1932	1933	1934	1935
January.....		648	1,701	1,226
February.....		742	1,905	1,311
March.....		699	1,903	1,376
April.....		728	1,694	1,329
May.....		625	1,407	1,232
June.....		537	1,003	961
July.....		435	721	478
August.....		384	672	441
September.....		387	674	418
October.....		441	707	402
November.....	361	879	831	
December.....	518	1,154	988	

NOTE: Details as above indicate relief administered within municipalities and in unorganized territory, also through the medium of hostels operating within municipalities.

Each case is shown on the basis of a unit of one, and figures as shown are for each month separately.

SOURCE: British Columbia Department of Labour, Unemployment Relief Branch.

CONCLUSIONS

A study of the standards of living of the Orientals in British Columbia would indicate that there are factors making for low standards other than the fact that they have been accustomed to a low standard of living before their arrival in Canada. A large percentage of the Chinese in British Columbia come from the peasant class in China, who are used to living on a bare subsistence level, eating what they are able to produce on their own fields. On their arrival in British Columbia, and until opportunity presented itself for them to improve their standards of living, they retained many of the standards of their own country.

An important factor affecting the standards of living is the limitation in the range of employment. The Chinese might be divided roughly into two groups, the merchant class and the labouring class. In most of the occupations in which the Orientals are found, the possible income is necessarily low. In the case of the Chinese a large number have their families in China, and as it is necessary for them to support these families, they live intentionally and of necessity on a low standard in British Columbia. Chinese who have their families in British Columbia live on a definitely higher standard. In families in British Columbia, the older children find employment, mainly in vegetable stores, and help out financially at home. Most of these families have telephones and radios, and in many cases modern household conveniences such as washing machines, electric cleaners, and refrigerators. The Chinese who have their families in China live on a bare subsistence level, sending all they can save back to China, supporting their families, or investing their money so that they can retire and

live a life of leisure, according to their own ideas, when they return to their native land. These Chinese, if living in cities or towns, live in the Chinese quarter under sordid conditions. In the country, they live in shacks similar to what they were accustomed to in their own country.

Generally speaking, the Chinese in British Columbia live on a higher level than the same class in China, especially in the case of those having their families in British Columbia. This class tends to adopt Western standards and ideas of life to a greater extent. Western food is used, in many cases as high as 40 per cent of the total, and in all cases never going below 10 per cent. Rice, however, is still retained by all the Chinese as a staple food.

Socially the Chinese live very much to themselves and have little to do with any other social group in the community, especially in the cities where the group is sufficiently large to form a unit. In the rural communities there is a greater mixing of the different groups. Nearly all the Chinese belong to some Chinese organization, whether it be a political or a clan society, and organizations such as the Chinese Benevolent Society, the Wong Kung Har Tong, and the Chee Kong Tong exercise a great influence on the Chinese community. Apart from a few of the better educated and more wealthy Chinese, there is little social contact between the Chinese and the White Canadians. Chinese students at the University usually belong to at least one University organization.

The religion of the majority of the Chinese is Confucianism, and celebrations in honour of Confucius are maintained. A number of the Chinese have adopted Christianity, and practically all Christian denominations provide religious services for them.

A certain number are Buddhists, and it is stated that these are mainly the older women who have come from China. The Canadian-born Chinese, unless they are Christians, are somewhat indifferent towards religion. A larger proportion of Japanese than of Chinese have declared themselves to be Christians.

The problem of marriage is serious. The Canadian-born Chinese tend to intermarry, while those born in China prefer to marry women also born in China. Intermarriage of these two groups is not prevalent. Intermarriage with the Whites is looked on with disfavour, not so much because it is considered that one colour is inferior to another, but because the children resulting from such marriages are not admitted freely into Western social circles, nor are they admitted freely into Chinese circles.

Illiteracy amongst the Chinese is found in the main in the older groups; about 20 per cent were recorded in 1931 as not being able to read or write. The Canadian-born Chinese all attend the public schools of the Province, and practically all finish the work of the elementary schools. A considerable number spend one year in the High schools, a smaller number complete the High school course, and a few enter the University. In addition to education in English, Chinese children attend Chinese Language Schools in the evenings. Education is highly valued and parents make sacrifices to keep their children in school as long as possible. The dual nature of the education of the Chinese presents an interesting problem in mental development, as they are being familiarized with two cultures, and in some cases, are faced with two loyalties.

The acquaintance of the young people with Western modes of life often creates a distinction as between the older and the younger Chinese. The

Canadian-born Chinese have greater freedom than that to which their parents were accustomed. Through school-books, and through moving pictures, and from general observation, they learn of Western social life. Owing to their social isolation they learn little of this from actual acquaintance with Western homes. They naturally desire to live as much as possible according to Western standards. They rebel against many of the family controls recognized in China which the older people desire to maintain. The arranged marriage is not popular. When these young Chinese leave school, their social contact with the Whites is immediately narrowed, and they are confined more largely to Chinese society. In some cases the younger Chinese acquire a very superficial conception of Western culture which has led observers to consider them as less desirable from certain points of view than the older Chinese. They have not the discipline and culture of their own country and have not acquired that of the West. It is stated that this superficial Western culture becomes a barrier to girls becoming finally absorbed as home-makers in their own community since the Chinese prefer women with less "modern" ideas. One familiar with the Chinese both in China and in British Columbia, states: "As it is, they are neither one thing nor the other, mentally; they speak two languages, neither well, live in two cultural environments, and seem to change even their way of thinking when they move from one to another. As they get older, and leave school, the tendency is to revert to the Chinese side." The Canadian-born Chinese undoubtedly find themselves in an extremely difficult position, socially and politically. The individual mentioned above further states:

The old-fashioned Chinese disapprove of the Canadian-born, and call them "Siwashes"—half-breeds, neither one thing nor the other.

In fact, the Canadian-born Chinese suffer from all the disadvantages generally attributed to the Eurasian. There are, of course, social difficulties standing in the way of their being completely accepted by Canadian people, principally the fear of intermarriage on the part of the Canadian. It seems likely, therefore, that while their standards of living will more closely approximate to ours as time goes on, and Chinatown as we know it will disappear with the tendency already shown for the young married people to live in the suburbs, the Chinese will be a separate social unit, just as the Jews preserve their racial integrity to a large extent.

A young Chinese, writing of his own group, states:

Even for the most highly educated Chinese there is little desire in many cases to study hard, because if a person intends to stay in this country, the amount of education received will not decide the type of work one will get. There is no choice for the young people here as to what they will do, it's just a matter of taking whatever turns up, or remaining idle. No matter what high ambitions are held by the young people, unless they leave for China to realize them they will never be realized. After many repeated setbacks here they feel disgusted and give up hope. The situation as it stands, where young people live in a state of shattered hopes and ambitions, is deplorable, because instead of an aggressive, quick thinking bunch of Chinese Canadian youths, one finds a submissive, fatalistic group of young people. A few do save and go to China in search of better things. The opportunity for university students is no greater. Because they expect more than the average person, they all see a time when they will be in China, using the best of their ability to help both themselves and China. If they remain too long after graduation in this country, they also begin to resign themselves to their fate and lose their ambition. University graduates are granted a prestige in China which they do not receive here.

The same Chinese states with reference to the attitude of the Canadian-born Chinese to hard work:

They who are born and educated in this country expect to live higher. The Canadian Chinese are wedged in between two people. On the one hand they have not the endurance and patience to compete with the immigrant Chinese, on the other hand, because of racial prejudice, they have not the opportunity to obtain higher types of employment afforded to White Canadians. Since they go to school with other Canadian boys and girls, they expect the

same privileges. About ten years ago the young Canadian Chinese very seldom studied Chinese, but the parents now realize the impossibility of their children making a decent living in this country, so that a knowledge of the Chinese language is a necessity in case they find it necessary to turn towards China to solve their livelihood problems. For this reason the parents put their children through three hours of Chinese study every night. In recent years more and more Canadian-born Chinese are leaving this country to search for better opportunity in China.

The Chinese, although they form a large part of the population of British Columbia, are entirely ignored, economically, socially and politically. They have no opportunity of making very much money in the present occupations in which they find themselves, they are not admitted readily into Canadian groups, and they are not granted the franchise. In the above three aspects the Chinese are much worse off than the average Canadian laborer. Theoretically they have an equal opportunity to obtain education as the Canadians, but in actual practice, because of their limited income, the economic factor is closely linked up with the educational disadvantage.

The limitation on the occupations of the Chinese in British Columbia naturally makes it difficult for the educated Chinese to secure employment suited to his education, and in many cases well-educated youths have to engage in menial employment. This has been true also of the Whites during the depression, but is a more or less permanent condition in the case of the Chinese. The Canadian-born Chinese feel very keenly the lack of the franchise.

The Chinese in British Columbia who have relatives in China keep in contact with them by correspondence and by gifts of clothing, food-stuffs, and money. In very few cases is reading matter sent from Canada to China, but a great deal of literature, newspapers, pamphlets, *etc.*, is received from China. In this way very definite contacts with their native country are maintained by the Chinese in British Columbia.

The position of the Japanese in British Columbia, while similar in many respects to that of the Chinese, differs from the latter materially. The occupational distribution of the Japanese shows a smaller proportion in the class of common labour, but in their case also the majority of workers is found in the low income occupations. There is a greater tendency on the part of the Japanese to become skilled workers.

The difference in the age and sex distribution of the Japanese constitutes a very vital distinction, which will tend to become greater. The larger number of Japanese having their families in British Columbia exercises an influence on their standards of life. The same force making for higher standards would appear to be exercised as in the case of the Chinese whose families are in British Columbia. The larger number of Japanese children in the schools constitutes a wider social contact between the Japanese and the Whites, and naturally exercises a commensurably greater influence on the Japanese in their adoption of Western customs.

The degree of assimilation of the Oriental to Western standards varies to some extent with the size of the Oriental community in each locality. Where there is a large Oriental community providing a more or less complete social life within itself, assimilation tends to be slower. Whereas, in the communities where the Oriental population is smaller, there is a more general contact with the Whites and a greater tendency to modify Oriental customs to Western conditions.

The lower possible standard of living of the Orientals has undoubtedly been a factor in economic competition. Certain occupations, such as market gardening, have become distinctly Oriental in character, because of the greater suitability of the Orientals

for this particular type of work. In the case of large numbers of the Chinese, their standards of living are low not necessarily because they are receiving lower wages than the Whites, but because of the necessity of supporting their families in their own country. In other cases the standard of living of the Orientals is low not because they are accepting lower wages than those paid the White workers, but because the conditions in the labour market are such that the employer is in a position to pay the Oriental a low wage, and the Oriental is in a position to accept the lower wage than the Whites because of his lower standard of living but with no planned intention of depriving the White worker of a job.

It may be said that this does not alter the fact that the Oriental competes with the White, but it does modify the position in respect to the intention of the Oriental, and there have been indications that given the opportunity the Oriental would demand wages similar to the Whites. Consequently, it may be assumed that the low wages paid to the Oriental have been a factor in the Oriental continuing to maintain a lower standard of living than the Whites. It is unlikely that the Orientals who have their families in China or Japan, or single Orientals intending to save and return to their own country, would improve their standards of living in Canada even if receiving higher wages. From a study of the habits of the Chinese and Japanese families who think in terms of permanent residence in British Columbia it is indicated that, given economic and financial opportunity, they would gradually raise themselves to a standard of living similar to that of the Whites in the same occupation.

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